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MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

ON the last day of the year preceding that of our Declaration of Independence there fell one of the noblest martyrs to liberty—MAJOR-GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY—whose death was mourned by friends and foes, and whose memory, after the lapse of a century, still lives in the grateful hearts of the millions of freemen of this giant Republic, whose foundation was sprinkled with his blood.

Richard Montgomery, the third son of an Irish baronet, was born December 2, 1738, at Convoy House, his father's country seat, near Raphoe, in the north of Ireland. The genealogy of the Montgomery family, originally from Neustria, goes beyond A.D. 912, when Rollo was made first Duke of Normandy; and later to that Comte de Montgomerie, who mortally wounded Henry II. of France, July 10, 1559, in a tournament in honor of the marriage of his daughter. Though, on his death-bed, the king forgave the Count, the queen-mother Catherine de Medicis did not, but pursued the brave Huguenot with implacable vengeance till she brought him to the scaffold, May 27, 1576.

After receiving a liberal education at Dublin College, Montgomery, in his eighteenth year, September 21, 1756, entered the British Army, as an Ensign of the Seventeenth Infantry, being soon after called to the field. Fortunately for America his career opened here, and not in the Seven Years War of Prussia. In 1757 his regiment was ordered to Halifax, and the next year took part, under the immediate command of General Wolfe, in the capture of Louisburg, the American Gibraltar, guarding the entrance to the St. Lawrence from the Atlantic. During the investment and siege of this great fortress—one of the most noted monuments of French power on this continent—young Montgomery showed such heroism and military capacity that he was promoted to be a Lieutenant, July 10, 1758.

The news of Montcalm's bloody repulse of the British attack upon



ANTIQUE VIEW OF QUEBEC.
After an Engraving by Royce.

Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, having reached General Amherst at Cape Breton, he, after leaving proper garrisons both at Louisburg and Halifax, without orders, hastened to the relief of the defeated Abercrombie with five of his most efficient regiments, including the seventeenth. Landing at Boston, September 13, Amherst marched for fourteen days through an almost trackless wilderness to Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George; and, in November following, was appointed to supersede Abercrombie in the chief command of the British forces in America.

The next year England, anxious to profit by the advantage acquired by the capture of Cape Breton, decided upon a vigorous campaign, by sending Stanwix to complete the occupation of the posts connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio; Prideaux to reduce Fort Niagara; Amherst to move upon Montreal by Lake Champlain; and Wolfe, with a large force supported by a fleet, to attack Quebec.

Leaving Fort Edward, at the head of the Hudson, June 21, 1759, Amherst, with eleven thousand men, including Montgomery's regiment, without a blow, took possession of Ticonderoga, July 26, and of Crown Point, August 4—both posts having been abandoned by the French. These strong works, the keys to the defense of Lakes George and Champlain, which had been the bone of contention in several campaigns, thus fell into British possession, the banner of the Bourbons never again floating over them. The road to Montreal by the Sorel could now have been easily opened; but Amherst was a mediocre general, without fertility of resource or the daring enterprise of Wolfe, who, in nobly accomplishing his part of the campaign, fell in the arms of victory, September 13, 1759, before Quebec.

Though Amherst's operations were unproductive of great results, it gave Montgomery the opportunity of surveying with his quick military eye the field of his after glory in a nobler cause. We have assumed that Montgomery was with his regiment, which formed a part of Amherst's army, though many authorities to this day assert that he was at Quebec. It is barely possible that he was detached from his regiment, as he was a favorite with Wolfe, for whom he had done such gallant service at Louisburg; but we think it almost certain that he was with the seventeenth, under Amherst, and that he has been confounded with some one of the thirteen officers of the same name then in the British army, two of whom—George, an Ensign in the fifteenth, and the barbarous Alexander,* Captain of the forty-third—were at the capture of Quebec.

* Some years since, the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, published an Extract from a Manuscript Journal relating to the Operations before Quebec in 1759, kept by Colonel Malcolm

Authorities equally differ as to Montgomery's position in the next campaign, of 1760, of which Montreal was the objective point of the three British armies by which Canada was subjugated: the first, under Amherst, making an absurd and dangerous flank march of 400 miles by the circuitous route to Oswego and down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence; the second, under Haviland, by the true strategic line of the Sorel, of less than 50 miles; and the third, under Murray, up the St. Lawrence from Quebec. As Montgomery became the Adjutant of his regiment in the spring of this year, May 15, 1760, we have little doubt that he then was, and had been present with it since its departure from Louisburg, and in this campaign accompanied Colonel Haviland over the ground made memorable by his after invasion of Canada in 1775, which we shall soon detail.

America, north of the St. Lawrence and the Lakes, having changed masters, a large British force was no longer required there; hence detachments from it were sent against the French and Spanish West India Islands of Martinique and Cuba, the former of which surrendered, February 13, 1762, to Monckton and Rodney, and a portion of the latter, including Havana and Morro Castle, August 12, 1762, to Albemarle and Pococke—two events which doubtless hastened the Treaty of Versailles, February 10, 1763, and confirmed Britain's possession of an empire in North America. In these two campaigns of 1761 and 1762, in the deadly climate of the West Indies, Montgomery had his full share of toil and danger, reaped fresh laurels as a brave and accomplished soldier, and won his promotion, May 6, 1762, to a full captaincy in his regiment.

Soon after the official announcement of peace, the Seventeenth Infantry returned to New York, and Montgomery obtained permission to revisit

Frazer, then Lieutenant of the 78th (Frazer's Highlanders), and serving in that campaign. Under date of August 23d, 1759, is recorded in the Journal: "We were reinforced by a party of about 140 Light Infantry, and a company of Rangers, under the command of Captain Montgomery, of Kennedy's or 43d Regiment, who likewise took command of our detachment, and we all marched to attack the village to the west of St. Joachim, which was occupied by a Party of the enemy to the number of about 200, as we supposed, Canadians and Indians. . . . There were several of the enemy killed and wounded, and a few prisoners taken, all of whom the barbarous Captain Montgomery, who commanded us, ordered to be butchered in the most inhuman and cruel manner." The Editor of the publication, not content to let the Journal speak for itself, appended a note stating that the Captain Montgomery here spoken of was "*The Leader of the forlorn hope who fell at Pres de Ville, 31st December, 1775.*" thus falling into the grave error of confounding the noble Lieutenant Richard Montgomery of the 17th with the brutal Captain Alexander Montgomery of the 43d. Doubtless this unfortunate note, published under the sanction of an Historical Society, on the very spot where these events transpired, has done much to perpetuate a mistake now almost crystallized into history as a truth.

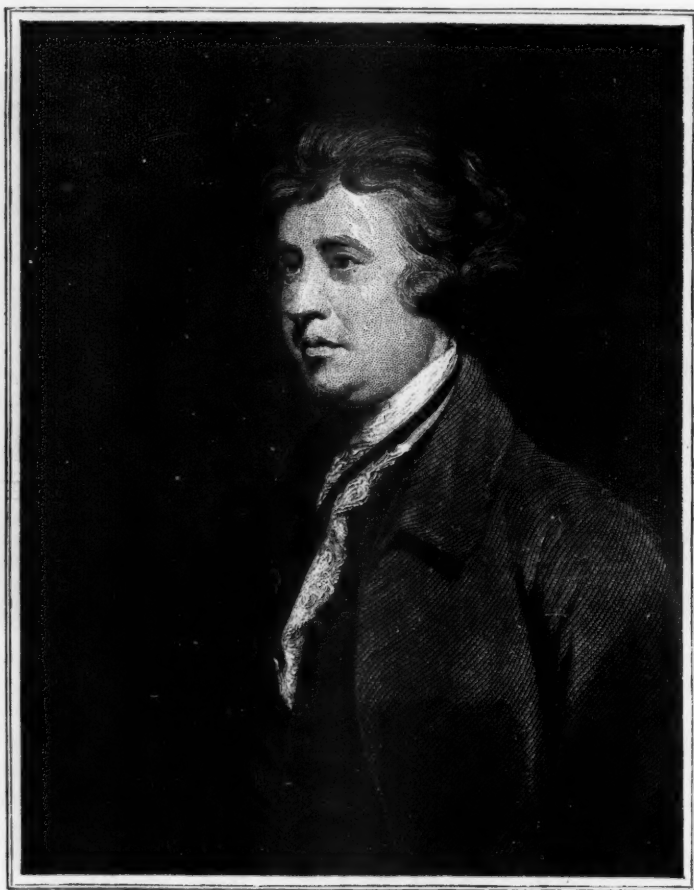


MONTGOMERY PLACE ON THE HUDSON.

Built 1775-1776.

Europe, where he remained for the next nine years, selling out his commission, April 6, 1772, because a favorite had superseded him in the purchase of a commission of major, to which Montgomery's services entitled him. Of his occupation during this period of military inactivity we have few details. But we know that he was an earnest lover of liberty, and was intimate in England with the brilliant Burke, the fascinating Fox, and the bold Barré, his fellow British soldier wounded at Quebec, all of whom, in Parliament, were the ardent advocates of America in her severe struggle against the oppression of the mother country. Doubtless the influence of this distinguished trio gave form and pressure to a mind already in sympathy with the colonists, with whom he had stood shoulder to shoulder in five eventful campaigns.

Montgomery, no longer in the British service, returned to America early in 1773; purchased a farm of sixty-seven acres at King's Bridge, near New York, upon which Fort Independence was subsequently built;



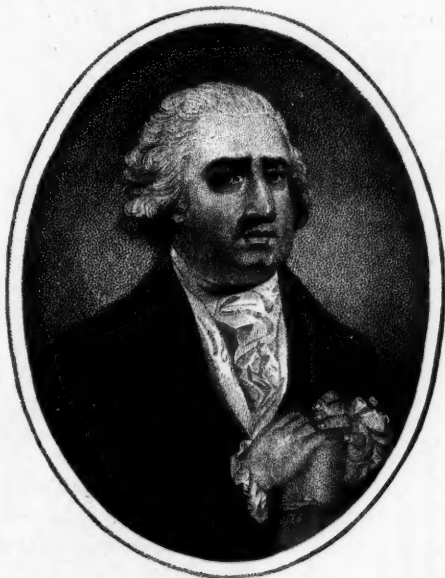
EDMUND BURKE.

(After engraving, by Wagstaff, of painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.)

soon after married Janet, the eldest child of Judge Robert R. Livingston,* and then moved to Rhinebeck, on the Hudson, where he followed his

* Montgomery, while still a captain in the British army, had met Janet Livingston at Clermont, her father's country place on the Hudson, he having stopped there on his way to a distant post. When Montgomery returned to America, he renewed his acquaintance with the lady and married her in July, 1773.

new vocation of agriculture with that zeal and intelligence which characterized all his actions. Here, though a foreigner, he quickly gained the confidence of his neighbors, and so proved himself equal to the exigencies of the times that, in April, 1775, he was elected a delegate from Dutchess County to the first Provincial Convention held in New York, of which he was a useful, modest and taciturn member, not having acquired the modern mania for speech-making. But the forum was not his sphere, and fortunately he was called to a higher and more congenial field of action.



RIGHT HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.

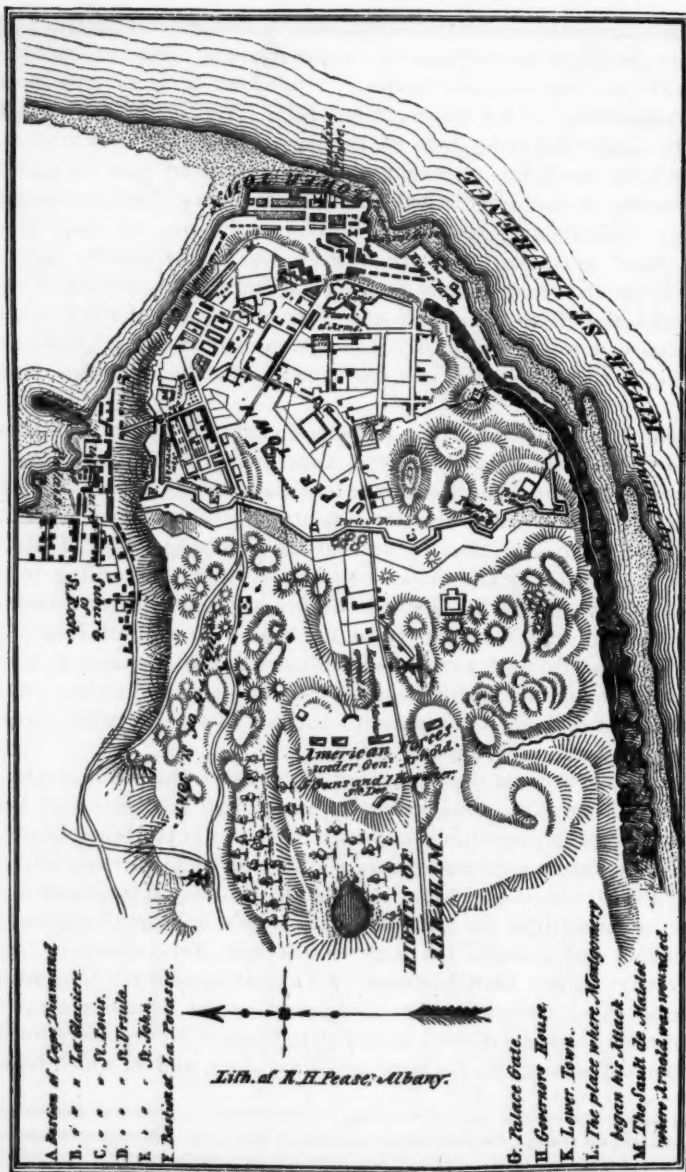
The Continental Congress having resolved on armed resistance to the oppression of the mother country, elected, June 15, 1775, George Washington commander-in-chief of all the colonial forces, and Horatio Gates, adjutant-general; on the 17th, Ward, Lee, Putnam and Schuyler, major-generals; and on the 22d, Pomeroy, Montgomery, Wooster, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan and Greene, brigadiers. Of the three selected from those who had been officers in the British army, Montgomery, though perhaps inferior to Charles Lee in quickness of mind, was much superior to both him and Gates in all the great qualities which adorn the soldier.

The high distinction conferred upon him by the supreme authority of the colonies, without his solicitation or privity, was accepted by Montgomery with his characteristic modesty, a patriotic sense of duty, and a strong presentiment of his swift-coming fate. Writing to a friend, he says: "The Congress having done me the honor of electing me a brigadier-general in their service, is an event which must put an end for a while, *perhaps forever*, to the quiet scheme of life I had prescribed for myself: for, though entirely unexpected and undesired by me, *the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed.*" From that hour he was no longer a Briton, but, with heart and soul, devoted himself to the service and glory of the land of his adoption. On his departure to Canada, Judge Livingston said to him: "Take care of your life." "Of my honor, you would say," quickly responded Montgomery.

Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been captured by Colonel Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, in May, 1775, thus giving us the command of Lake Champlain, when Congress, aware that Canada was weakly defended and had a large discontented French population, wisely resolved upon the invasion of that province, thus to prevent its becoming a base of hostile operations against us by the armies of Great Britain. According to the plan of campaign devised by General Washington and Doctor Franklin, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, at the head of a body of New York and New England troops,* were to seize Montreal, the approach to which was barred by the strong fortifications of St. John's and Chambly, on the Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence; while Arnold marched through the wilderness of Maine.

On the 26th of August the movement began down the placid waters of the beautiful Champlain Lake, which, for nearly two centuries, had been the scene of long campaigns and desperate battles. On the 6th of September the invading army appeared before the first of these barriers, effected a landing, and defeated an Indian ambushade; but Schuyler, deceived in regard to the strength of the garrison of St. John's, and the disposition of the Canadians and Indians, fell back to Isle aux Noix, which he commenced fortifying, and then hastened to Ticonderoga for reinforcements. In reporting these transactions to Congress, General Schuyler says: "I cannot estimate the obligations I lie under to General Montgomery for the many important services he has done and daily does, and in which he has

* Among these troops was one Quackenbosh, who invariably asked for a leave of absence when any firing was heard, his courage, like Bob Acres', immediately oozing out. Montgomery remarked to his captain: "I think this *quake-in-the-bush* had better at once be discharged."



OLD CITY OF QUEBEC.

had little assistance from me, as I have not enjoyed a moment's health since I left Fort George, and am now so low as not to be able to hold a pen."

In consequence of this sickness Schuyler retired to Albany, the command of the whole invading force devolving upon Montgomery, who hesitated not a moment, but abandoning his island intrenchments, was, on the 18th of September, again before St. John's, of which he began the investment and siege. Having accomplished the first as best he could, he began the latter, but soon found his mortars defective, his artillery too light for breaching, his ammunition scanty, his artillerists unpracticed, his engineer incompetent, the ground too wet and swampy for trenches, the weather cold and rainy, malaria producing much sickness, and his troops disaffected and insubordinate.* To escape these unfavorable circumstances, Montgomery proposed to move to the north-west side of the fort, where the ground was firm, and from there to make an assault; but the troops refused to second their leader, and to crown his embarrassment, the expedition of the restless Ethan Allen against Montreal had terminated, September 25th, in the capture of himself and many of his detachment. At length, however, Montgomery, by his firmness and address, succeeded in carrying out his views of moving his camp to the higher ground, and soon after, October 18th, Colonel Bedel, with Majors Brown and Livingston, captured Fort Chambly,† which being twelve miles lower down the Sorel, had been left with a feeble garrison. This was an important event, as large supplies of ammunition, artillery, and military stores fell into Montgomery's hands, which enabled him to press the siege of St. John's. This strong work, garrisoned by nearly all of the regular troops in Canada, capitulated November 3d, after a vigorous defense of nearly seven weeks, all hope of succor from Governor Carleton having been destroyed by his defeat, October 31st, at Longueuil, by the detachment under Colonel Warner.

Immediately the Americans pressed on toward Montreal, which was abandoned, November 12th, to the triumphal entry of Montgomery; but Governor Carleton, disguised as a peasant, escaped in a canoe with muffled paddles, passing on a dark night the American batteries and armed vessels without observation, and reached Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of

* "They are the worst stuff imaginable for soldiers," says Montgomery. "They are homesick; their regiments are melting away, and yet not a man dead of any distemper among them. There is such an equality among them that the officers have no authority, and there are few among them in whose spirit I have confidence; the privates are all generals, but not soldiers. . . . Would I were at my plow again."

† The colors of the Seventh British Fusileers, captured here, were the first taken in the Revolution and sent to the Continental Congress.

the garrison, who placed every confidence in his well-known courage and ability, and without whom Canada was lost. When the news of Montgomery's brilliant success reached Congress it passed a vote of thanks, and he was promoted, December 9th, 1775, to be a major-general; but his untimely death prevented his ever receiving the just reward of his merits. The vote of thanks by the Continental Congress was conveyed to Montgomery in the following letter from its President:

"Philadelphia, November 30th, 1775.

"Sir: I am directed by the Congress to transmit you their Thanks for your great and signal services in the expedition committed to your command, against the *British* troops in the Province of *Canada*. The reduction of *St. John's* and *Montreal* they esteem of inexpressible advantage to the *United Colonies*, and the most mortifying contravention to the ministerial system of enslaving the extensive territory of *Canada*. It cannot, therefore, fail of reflecting singular luster on the character of the General so essentially instrumental in preserving that liberty by the abolition of which a corrupt Parliament intended to annihilate every appearance of freedom in *America*. Nor are the humanity and politeness with which you have treated those in your power less illustrious instances of magnanimity than the valour by which you reduced them to it. The Congress, utterly abhorrent from every species of cruelty to prisoners, and determined to adhere to this benevolent maxim till the conduct of their enemies renders a deviation from it indispensably necessary, will ever applaud their officers for beautifully blending the Christian with the conqueror, and never, in endeavouring to acquire the character of the hero, to lose that of the man.

"The victories already gained in *Canada* afford us a happy presage of the smiles of Providence in the further designation of the Continental arms in the North, and will, in all probability, greatly facilitate the entire reduction of the deluded malignants in that Province to liberty. These, Sir, are exploits so glorious in their execution, and so extensive in their consequences, that the memory of General *Montgomery* will doubtless be of equal duration with the remembrance of the benefits derived from his command.

"At the same time that the Congress rejoice with you in the success of their arms under your immediate direction, they cannot avoid expressing their concern at the intimation you give of your intention to retire from the service. They are sensible that the loss of so brave and experienced an officer will be universally regretted, as a misfortune to all *America*. But they still hope that, upon reconsidering the matter, the same generous and patriotick motives which first induced you to take so capital a part in opposing the unprovoked hostilities of an unnatural enemy will prompt you to persevere in the cause, and to continue gathering fresh laurels, till you find our oppressors reduced to reason, and *America* restored to her constitutional liberties.

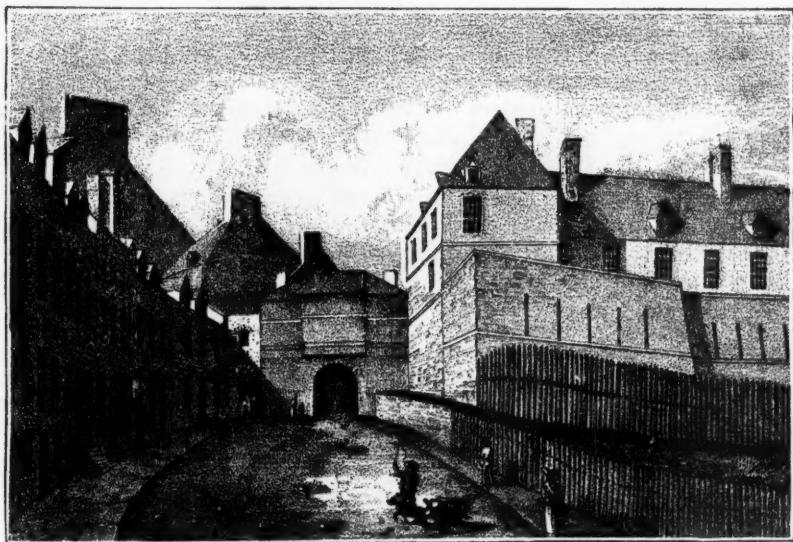
"I am, &c.,

"JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

"To General *Montgomery*."

Though now master of one of the most important keys to Canada, not a moment was to be lost in gaining possession of the other, for, as Montgomery wrote to Congress: "Till Quebec is taken, Canada is unconquered."

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the desertion of many troops, the insubordination of officers, and a multitude of discouragements, he led on his band of three hundred patriots over frozen ground and drifting snows, keeping alive their hopes, and cheering them on to endure every hardship, by his own noble example of self-sacrifice and heroic devotion to his adopted country. Soon, November 17th, he learned that the adventurous Arnold had completed that memorable march—one of the most wonderful on record—with his half starved, freezing army, through deep swamps, trackless forests, and tangled ravines, over craggy highlands and



PRESCOT GATE, QUEBEC.

difficult portages, and down the rushing rapids of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. After a brief delay before Quebec, Arnold marched up the St. Lawrence to join Montgomery. On the 1st of December the two heroes met at *Pointe aux Trembles*, twenty miles above the city, Montgomery taking command of the combined force, now only nine hundred effective men, with which, on the 4th, in the face of a driving snowstorm, he marched on Quebec, and on the 5th, after a slow and excessively fatiguing march, reached St. Foye, establishing his headquarters at Holland House.

He was now in sight of the goal of his ardent wishes, to reach which

for three months he had endured every species of toil and suffering. In his brief campaign, almost insurmountable obstacles had been overcome, and victory after victory had crowned his heroic efforts. Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Forts St. John's and Chambly, Montreal, Sorel, and Three Rivers had all been captured by less than an ordinary brigade of American recruits, whose march seemed irresistible, and whose prowess spread terror everywhere. The Canadian peasantry believed them invincible and ball-proof; by a curious mistake they being represented as "incased in plate-iron"—*vêtus en tôle*, instead of *vêtus en toile*—clothed in linen (the shirt uniform of Morgan's riflemen).*

The Red Cross of St. George now floated solitary on the ramparts of Quebec, for Levi, Sillery, St. Foye, Lorette, Charlesbourg, the Island of Orleans, Beauport, and every inch of British territory around the city, were in possession of the invaders. It was a proud moment for Montgomery when he contemplated all this, and surveyed the historic grounds around him—in front, the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe and Montcalm had joined, September 13, 1759, in their death struggle; on either side the battle-field of St. Foye, where, six months later, April 28, 1760, the vain-glorious Murray had nearly lost all that British valor had won; and beyond, with its clustering associations of nearly two centuries, the fortress capital of Canada, whose capture would perhaps crown him conqueror of British America.

Quebec, at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and St. Charles rivers, in 1775, was divided into the Upper and Lower Town, the former, occupying much the larger area, being perched upon the summit of a huge, high rock, and mostly inclosed with formidable fortifications on the brow of its precipitous sides, while the latter comprised a narrow, low fringe of land, of unequal width, between the base of the rock and the banks of the two rivers. This citadel of British power was provisioned for eight months, was armed with two hundred pieces of heavy artillery, had a garrison of 1,800 regulars, militia and marines, and was commanded by the brave, cautious and accomplished General Guy Carleton, afterward Lord Dorchester, who, as Governor of Canada, possessed almost absolute authority.

Investment of the place was out of the question, with only 800 Americans to guard the numerous avenues leading to the enemy's extensive works. Siege was equally impracticable, as there could be no sapping and

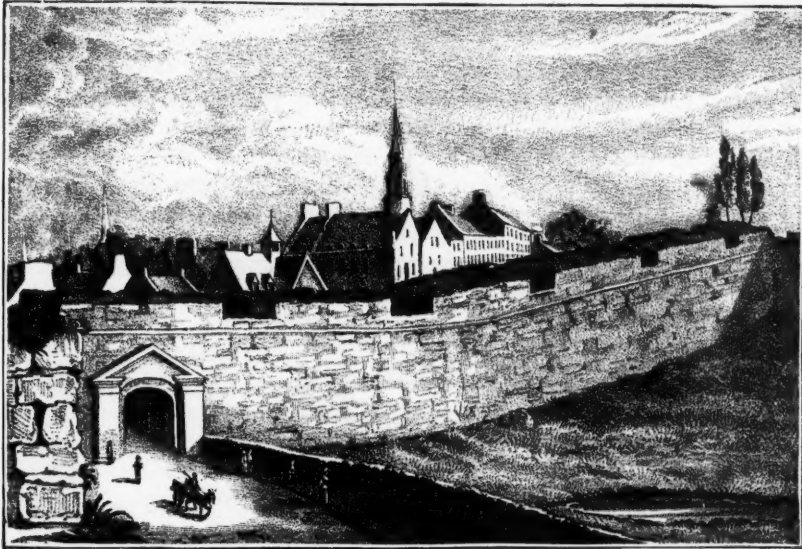
* In the early part of the Revolution part of the troops assumed the dress recommended by Washington—a hunting shirt and long gaiter breeches—made of tow-cloth steeped in a tan vat until it reached the color of a dry leaf. This was called the shirt uniform, or rifle dress, and was supposed to carry no small terror to the enemy as the insignia of a thorough marksman.



Dan Rogers

mining in the hard frozen soil, covered with deep snow-drifts; besides, Montgomery had no skilled engineer, nor any breaching artillery. He had contemplated storming the fortifications from the first, for, writing to the Hon. R. R. Livingston, from Montreal, Montgomery says: "If my force be small, Carleton's is not great. The extensiveness of his works, which, in case of investment, would favor him, will, in the other case, favor us. Masters of our secret, we may select a *particular time* and *place* to attack, and to repel this the garrison must be prepared at *all times* and *places*—a circumstance which will impose upon it incessant watching and labor by day and by night; which, in its undisciplined state, must breed discontents that may compel Carleton to capitulate, or perhaps make an attempt to drive us off. In this last idea there is a glimmering of hope. Wolfe's success was a lucky hit, or rather a series of lucky hits. All sober and scientific calculation was against him, until Montcalm, permitting his courage to get the better of his discretion, gave up the advantages of his fortress and came out to try his strength on the plain. Carleton, who was Wolfe's quartermaster-general, understands this well, and, it is to be feared, will not follow the Frenchman's example."

Preliminary, however, to a *coup de main*, it was necessary to know the character and extent of the enemy's works, his means of introducing supplies, the strength and composition of the garrison, and the disposition of the inhabitants of the city and vicinage. These precautions consumed precious days of the midwinter of a boreal clime which was now upon our benumbed handful of besiegers, among whom mutiny and small-pox prevailed, and whose enlistment would in a short time expire. Montgomery, almost in despair, summoned the city to surrender, but received no response; he paraded his troops before the place, but Carleton was not to be drawn from behind his defenses; and the discontented Canadians of the garrison dared not rebel in the presence of the British soldiery. Resorting next to more active measures, Montgomery threw every night from thirty to fifty shells from his five small mortars into the city; but these doing little damage, he erected, at 700 yards in front of St. John's Gate, a battery for his five light guns and one howitzer, the platforms being cakes of ice, and the epaulment made with gabions filled with compacted snow congealed into a solid mass. This, too, owing to the distance and small caliber of his guns, failed of success, the battery being soon demolished by the enemy's superior artillery, which kept up an effective fire upon every point where troops were to be seen. On one occasion, as Montgomery was reconnoitering near the town, the horse which drew his cariole was killed by a cannon ball.

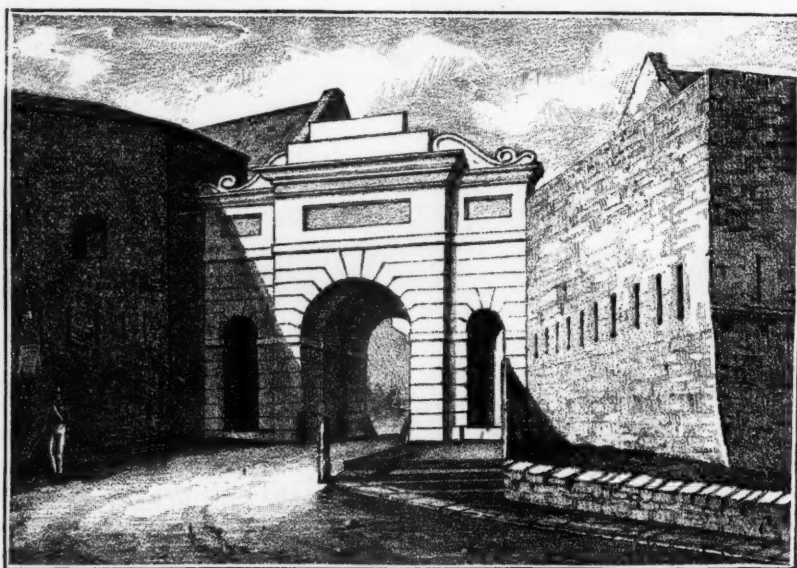


ST. JOHN'S GATE, QUEBEC.

Weeks had now been spent in unavailing efforts to capture the city, biting cold and drifting snows paralyzed almost every movement, sickness and privations were producing mutiny, and perils on every hand were gathering around the undaunted leader in that terrible campaign ; but his noble soul rose superior to every misfortune, and sustained him with the same moral grandeur which inspired Marshal Ney till the last of the rearguard of Napoleon's Grand Army had escaped the pursuing foe and the deadlier rigor of a Russian winter.

In a council of war, held December 16th, it was resolved, as the only remaining, though desperate alternative, to carry the place by storm. As the time for assault drew near, three companies of Arnold's detachment mutinied ; but Montgomery's firmness and address soon brought them back to a proper sense of their duty. Finally, at two o'clock on the morning of the last day of the year, the whole command was paraded, in three columns, for the last dread trial. The plan, essentially different from that first adopted and abandoned when disclosed by a deserter, was for the first and second divisions to assault the Lower Town, then to meet and unitedly force their way into the city through the picketed passage at the foot of Mountain Street, since 1797 known as the Prescott Gate ; while the third, under

Livingston and Brown, was, from the Plains of Abraham, to alarm and distract the attention of the garrison by feigned attacks upon the Upper Town, in the neighborhood of St. John's and St. Louis' Gates and Cape Diamond bastion. The morning was dark and gloomy; a violent pelting storm of cutting hail almost blinded the men and the drifting snows obliterated all traces of highways. To recognize each other, the soldiers wore hemlock sprigs or pieces of white paper in their caps, on which some of them wrote: "LIBERTY OR DEATH." A more daring attack than that

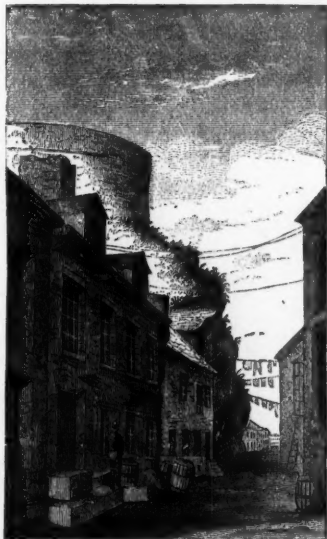


PALACE GATE, QUEBEC.

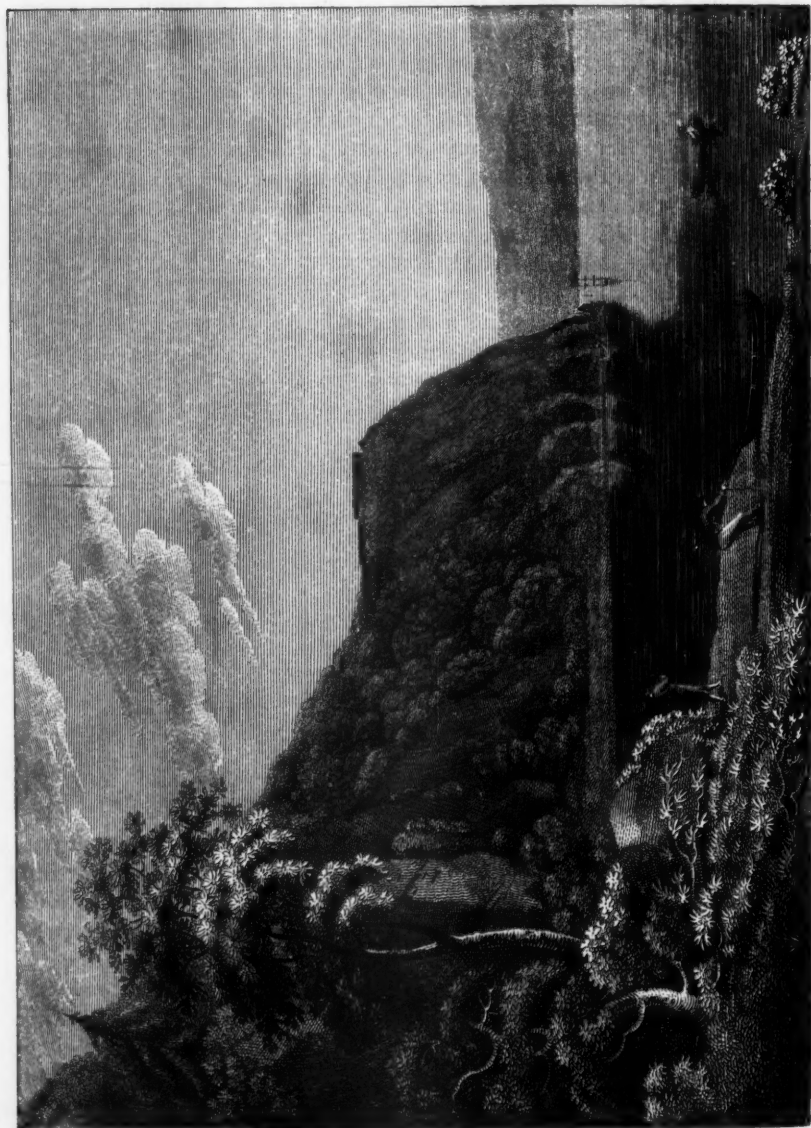
which they were about to undertake is, perhaps, not on record upon the page of history.

At five o'clock the two assaulting columns of Montgomery and Arnold began their march. Arnold's division, himself leading the advance guard of 30 men, followed by Lamb's piece of artillery mounted on a sledge, and the main body of about 500 infantry and riflemen, under Morgan, moved through the suburb of St. Roch, by way of St. Charles street, near the river. The advance guard approached a picketed two-gun battery defending a barrier across the road, without being discovered, but the main body had scarcely reached the Palace Gate when "a horrid roar of

cannon and a ringing of all the bells of the city" sounded the alarm. Covering the locks of their guns with the lappets of their coats, to protect them from the pelting storm, the infantry and riflemen ran single file, in very open order, as rapidly as the deep snow and the various obstacles would permit, along the base of the high rock upon which the Upper Town was built. The files, though thirty or forty yards apart, were exposed to a terrible fire from the ramparts, to which no reply could be made, as only the flash of the enemy's guns was to be seen. Arnold's forlorn hope attacked and carried the battery after a desperate resistance, in which he was severely wounded, and had to be carried to the hospital. Though encouraging the men as he passed to the rear, the ardor of the main body was much dampened. Nevertheless they hurried forward under the severe enfilading and plunging fire of the garrison, to the attack of the first barrier, which was carried, the embrasure being entered "when the enemy were discharging their guns." From the first to the second barrier there was a circular course of about 300 yards, partly through Dog Lane, opening into the head of Sault-au-Matelot street, where the second barricade closed the space between the foot of the rock and the river bank. Here a terrible conflict took place, the enemy having dry and superior arms; in front, a shot-proof cover twelve feet high; behind two tiers of musketeers, supported by an elevated battery of artillery; on either side houses, giving a plunging fire from their upper windows; and reinforcements continually arriving from the other parts of the town now unexposed, for already Montgomery had fallen; Campbell, his successor, was in flight, and the "dastardly persons employed to make the false attacks" had signally failed. Efforts to scale the barrier were made in face of the desolating fire of musketry and grape; the platform within was emptied by our unerring riflemen; Morgan, Arnold's successor in command, brave to temerity, stormed and raged; all that valor could do was essayed; the killed and wounded literally choked the defile; but human efforts could not prevail against such surpassing odds. Now it was that Morgan, seeing the



WHERE ARNOLD WAS WOUNDED.



CAPE DIAMOND.

Quixotism of this unequal hand-to-hand encounter, ordered the occupation of the houses on our side of the barrier, that our men might be better screened and maintain a more effective fire. It was already daylight, and many of the best officers and men had been killed or wounded; hesitation and doubt seized many of the survivors; and the critical moment for the last cast of fortune was allowed to pass, when Captain Laws, at the head of 200 of the garrison, sortied from the Palace Gate, cutting off the retreat of the Americans, nearly four hundred of whom were captured, the remaining survivors having escaped across the ice covering the Bay of St. Charles.

At the same time that Arnold's division began its march, Montgomery, who could not be persuaded that the commander-in-chief should not expose his life in the advance, descended from the Plains of Abraham, at the head of his column of less than three hundred, to the cove where Wolfe landed in 1759, and then, in Indian file, cautiously led his forlorn hope along the margin of the St. Lawrence toward the very narrow pass of *Prés de Ville*, having a precipice toward the river on one side, and the scarped rock extending up to Cape Diamond on the other. Here all farther approach to the Lower Town was intercepted by a barrier, and the defile, only wide enough

for two or three abreast, was swept by a battery of three-pounders loaded with grape, placed in a block-house. At daybreak Montgomery's approach was discovered by the guard and Captain Barnsfare's gunners, who had been kept under arms awaiting the attack which they had reason to expect, from reports of deserters; and, as had been previously concerted, the Americans were allowed to approach unmolested to within fifty yards. Montgomery, while the rear of the column was coming up with the ladders, halted to reconnoiter in the dim dawn darkened with the driving north-east storm. Deceived by the silence of the enemy, who with port-fires lighted, were eagerly watching for his approach, Montgomery cried



WHERE MONTGOMERY FELL.

out to his little band, as soon as about sixty were assembled: "Men of New York! you will not fear to follow where your general leads! March on, brave boys! Quebec is ours!" and then rushed boldly to charge the battery, over the drifted snow and blocks of ice, some of which he cleared away with his own hands, to make room for his troops. The enemy, waiting for this critical moment, discharged a shower of grape and musketry, with deadly precision, into the very faces of the assailants. Montgomery, pierced with three balls, his Aide, Macpherson, the gallant Captain Cheesman, and ten others, were instantly killed. For several hours after the repulse of the American column Carleton was uncertain as to Montgomery's fate; but a field officer among the captured troops of Arnold's detachment recognized among the thirteen frozen corpses, *lying as they fell*, in their winding sheets of snow, the Spartan leader of the heroic band.* Through the courtesy of Carleton, the commanding-general of the British forces, the body of Montgomery was privately interred, January 4, 1776, at the gorge of St. Louis bastion. His short and light sword, of which he had thrown away the scabbard, was found near him by James Thompson, overseer of public works in the royal engineer department at Quebec, who, dying at the age of ninety-eight years, bequeathed it to his son, who in turn willed it to his nephew, James Thompson Harrower, who has deposited "this famous *excalibur*," for safe-keeping, in the museum of the Literary and Historical Society, at Morrin College, Quebec.

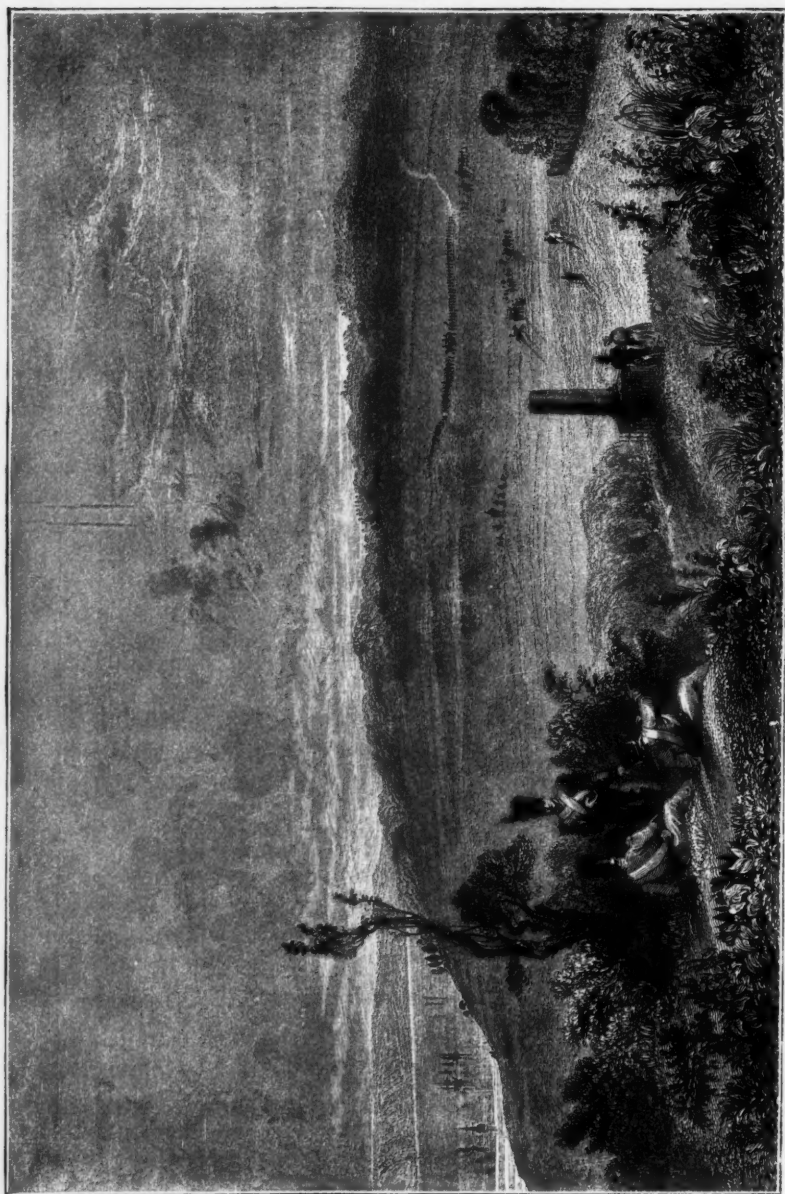
* The oft-repeated story that Aaron Burr attempted to carry away the body of Montgomery, has been handed down by Trumbull's pencil, and recently renewed with much exaggeration in Par-ton's biography of him; nevertheless, we believe it to be an error, and even doubt whether he was with Montgomery's column, though his friend Matthew L. Davis, generally accurate in his statements, says, "General Montgomery [when he fell] was within a few feet of Captain Burr."

Burr, disguised as a Catholic priest, had been sent by Arnold to convey to Montgomery, when at Montreal, the information of his near approach to Quebec. Pleased with Burr, Montgomery temporarily attached him to his staff, and had designed that he should lead, with forty men, an assault upon Cape Diamond bastion. When this first plan was frustrated by its being disclosed to the enemy by a deserter, Burr probably joined his old commander, believing more glory was to be gained under the impetuous Arnold than under the brave but cautious Montgomery. In confirmation of this is Arnold's own letter to General Wooster, written from the hospital where he lay wounded, and while the assault of Quebec was yet in progress. He says: "At last accounts from my detachment, about ten minutes ago, they were pushing toward the lower town. . . . The loss of my detachment before I left it was about twenty men killed and wounded. Among the latter is Major Ogden, who, with Captain Oswald, *Captain Burr*, and the other volunteers, behaved extremely well." This certainly implied that Burr was with Arnold's column, and not with Montgomery's, which was a mile away. Possibly Burr assisted Arnold to the hospital, but certainly he did not move Montgomery's body from where it fell and was found, "two paces from the brink of the river, on the back, the arms extended," close to Cheesman and Macpherson, and two privates. Burr was quite a small man, and not of sufficient strength to have carried off, if he had wished to do so, the tall and heavy body of Montgomery.

"Brief, brave, and glorious was his young career,—
His mourners were two hosts—his friends and foes;
And fitly may the stranger, lingering here,
Pray for his gallant spirit's bright repose;
For he was Freedom's champion, one of those,
The few in number, who had not o'erstept
The charter to chastise which she bestows
On such as wield her weapons; he had kept
The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept."

Looking now upon the attack of Quebec simply as a problem of engineering, it is questionable whether the false attacks should not have been real, and the latter feints. By the plan adopted, Montgomery and Arnold had each to force their way, for about a mile, through the Lower Town, during a violent storm, by narrow, obstructed defiles, and amid dark, intricate passages, among storehouses, boats, wharves and snowdrifts, being at the same time harassed by a constant plunging fire of a continuous line of fortifications, which could not be silenced; then to make a second attack by either escalading the walls or forcing one of the gates of the Upper Town; and perhaps even a third attack upon the redoubt which then occupied the site of the present citadel—*three* extremely difficult and dangerous operations; whereas, had Diamond bastion and the incomplete line of defenses fronting the Plains of Abraham, between it and St. John's Gate, been simultaneously assaulted, the Upper Town would probably have been carried, and then the Lower Town would have offered no resistance—*one* not extremely hazardous operation, considering the state of the garrison and the extent of the works to be defended against dashing, desperate men. Doubtless it was expected that the storm and darkness would prevent the discovery of the march of the columns, but the event proved what ought to have been expected of a vigilant garrison, commanded by an observant and thoughtful officer, who, in fact, knew of the intended attack eight days before it was made. Soon after the troops were in motion their approach was known by the sentries, and before they had reached the first barrier every bell in the city was tolled, the drums beat to arms, the inhabitants were running to the market place, and every soldier was at his post, ready with cannon and musket to repel the assailants.

The death of Montgomery made a profound impression, both in Europe and America, for the excellency of his qualities and disposition had procured for him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem. The Continental Congress proclaimed for him "their grateful remembrance, profound respect, and high veneration, and desiring to transmit to future ages a truly worthy example of patriotism, conduct,



THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death," caused to be executed by Caffières, sculptor to Louis XVI., a monument of white marble, of the most beautiful simplicity and graceful proportions, with emblematic devices, and a classical inscription written by Franklin, which, since 1789, has adorned the front of St. Paul's Church, in the city of New York. Even in the British Parliament the fallen hero was eulogized by the most eloquent speakers—Chatham, Burke, and Barré—as if he had been the most devoted servant of the Crown. Lord North, too, while acknowledging his worth, concluded by saying, "Curse on his virtues; they have undone his country."

Forty-three years after Montgomery's death his remains, of which the skeleton was found nearly entire, by "an Act of Honor" of the Legislature of the State of New York, were removed from Quebec, and buried, July 8th, 1818, with brilliant military ceremonies, near the cenotaph erected by Congress to his memory. As the body was borne down the Hudson River, the steamer, as directed by Governor Clinton, paused before "Montgomery Place,"* near Barrytown, where the widow of the hero resided, and who thus describes the mournful pageant: "At length they came by with all that remained of a beloved husband, who left me in the bloom of manhood, a perfect being. Alas! how did he return? However gratifying to my heart, yet to my feelings every pang I felt was renewed. The pomp with which it was conducted added to my woe; when the steamboat passed with slow and solemn



MONTGOMERY'S TOMB.
St. Paul's, New York.

* When Montgomery left his Kingsbridge farm, he commenced erecting a house upon a place (now called Grasmere) near Rhinebeck, which belonged to his wife, but the building was not completed till after the General's death. His widow resided here till the spring of 1776, when she removed to Montgomery Place, named in honor of the General and modeled after the house in Ireland belonging to Viscount Ranelagh, who married Montgomery's only sister. Their son, Hon. William Jones, superintended the construction of Montgomery Place.

Sir

Camp near St. John's
Oct 27th 1775

Last night I received word, that the British
shall be ready this morning if you
will send a party for them to go
down in a boat to alter the landing
whenever they may go down with
the greatest secrecy from the Enemy
we had a whale boat with a few men
landed the other night at Mr. Peltin
& son's house & brought away the
9 half dressed proof they have no
look out on the water - the making
of the Canadians I treat as a joke
nor do I see how two parcels of cannon
should charge their heads if it
were so - I sent for a large battery
a considerable reinforcement to
take post on a hill to the westward
with most of my artillery in order
to destroy their depots & hinder my
approaches. The troops must now be
on their way -

The report of his highness of Quebec
seems to gain ground.
I think it extremely probable
I imagine it will throw a damp
on the people of Montreal -

I am &c Yours most truly
Richard Montgomery

movement, stopping before my house, the troops under arms, the Dead March from the muffled drums, the mournful music, the splendid coffin, canopied with crape and crowned by plumes, you may conceive my anguish. I cannot describe it. Such voluntary honors were never before paid to an individual by a republic, and to Governor Clinton's munificence much is owing."

Of Washington's thirteen generals, elected by the Continental Congress, some were mere sabreurs, many incompetent, and several effete from sickness or age: two only—Schuyler and Greene—could be compared to Montgomery, and neither of these was his superior in character, attainments or military experience. Of such material as Montgomery, Napoleon made the marshals of his Empire; for he was as intrepid as Ney, as steadfast as Macdonald, as fearless as Massena, as prudent as Soult, as resolute as Davoust, as self-poised as Suchet, and as impetuous as Lannes; ever ready to

AN ORIGINAL LETTER.

MONTGOMERY TO COLONEL BEDEL, ST. JOHNS.

(From the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.)

lead in the forefront of battle to do or die for his country. It must be ever lamented that a spirit so elevated and so devoted to the cause of liberty should have been sacrificed, in the bloom of manhood, in a conflict so unequal and so hopeless of success. Winkelried met not a more glorious death, nor did Austrian pikes at Sempach pierce a braver heart than that of the noble martyr of Prés de Ville, worthy to rank among the first heroes and patriots.

Montgomery was the embodiment of the true gentleman and chivalrous soldier; high-born, handsome in person and athletic in form, graceful and simple in manners, modest and taciturn in speech, generous and frank in disposition, loving to kindred and fond of his fireside, of sanguine temperament tinged with melancholy, cultivated in taste and studious of books, self-reliant and of sound judgment, faithful to duty and zealous in its performance, just to all and guided by a high moral sense, firm of will in carrying out his convictions, true to friends and generous to foes, brave as a paladin and the soul of honor—he united every manly attribute to the gentleness and affection of woman.

His letters to his wife, amid all his difficulties and sufferings, are those of a knightly lover, sighing and longing to worship at the altar of his household gods. Though a soldier from boyhood, he delighted in the calm pursuit of agriculture, and reluctantly bade adieu to his "quiet scheme of life" only because "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." When he resumed his sword in the cause of our independence, he shrank from no danger, evaded no responsibility, energetically performed every duty, imparted his own confidence and courage to all about him, won the love and esteem of his soldiery, and tempering authority with kindness, checked insubordination, removed discontent, and converted a disorderly band of turbulent freemen into a disciplined army of patriots. He was truly a "servant of humanity, enlisted in its corps of immortals," and his heroic end was the amaranthine crown to his useful and unsullied career.

' Death made no conquest of this conqueror,
For now he lives in fame, though not in life."

Geo. M. Cullum

Bvt. Maj.-Gen'l, U. S. Army

THE NATCHEZ INDIANS—A LOST TRIBE

Ten miles back in the country from the sleepy-eyed Mississippi town that bears the name of the lost tribe—the subject of this article—dwells the venerable J. F. H. Claiborne, whose life has been identified with the history of the State, and whose mind is a storehouse of historical and legendary lore. From this gentleman the writer recently received a time-stained roll of manuscript, upon which was the indorsement: "I send you a few items concerning the Natchez Indians. Whose hand first collected these fragmentary statements I have no means of deciding now. But for their correctness I can vouch." Only one clue to the date of the manuscript appears, and that lies in the paragraph: "While engaged on this part of the subject, we have received the April number for 1832 of Silliman's Journal, which contains a translation of a letter from a scientific Spanish gentleman, Mr. Loago, residing in Brazil, setting forth the fact of his discovery of what he believes to be antediluvian remains of the human species in the caves of that region, the skulls of which exhibit the same remarkable artificial conformation." With this allusion to the compressed heads of the Natchez tribe, our nameless author proceeds to say that his information "has been derived from various sources, written and traditional, and that in romantic interest this perished people excel all other races upon the continent. In character they were peaceful, and in moral attributes no other Indians could compare with them." Charlevoix, who for a time sojourned in their midst, said: "They rarely make wars nor place their glory in destroying their fellow-creatures: but once excited to revenge by repeated provocation, their resentment is appeased only by the severest chastisement of their foes." Governed by this civilized principle, they seldom waged any other than defensive warfare. Their civil polity partook in a certain degree of the refinement of advanced civilization. They had kings or chiefs whom they denominated "Suns," and invested them with absolute power. They had a subordinate nobility, and the usual distinctions created by rank seem to have been well understood and observed. The supreme power in the government was held by the "Grand Sun," whose fiat confirmed or annulled the action of the grand council of the tribe, composed of the lesser "Suns" and aged nobles. The control of the lesser "Suns" extended only over their own villages, save when it occurred to some barbaric diplomat, possessed of superior ability, intelligence

or strategic skill, to maneuver himself indirectly into control over the head of the government. Each village had its separate "Sun," to whose title was appended the name of the village over which he held sway, as "The Sun of the Apple," chief of the "White Apple Village," "The Sun of the Meal," chief of the "Village of the Meal," etc., etc. What may have been the number of their villages, even so late as the period when French domination extended over the territory now occupied by Adams County, Mississippi, it is impossible to ascertain, unless we adopt the reasonable supposition that each mound or series of mounds marks the site of a village, in which case the particular district of which we speak, embracing within its limits upwards of fifty mounds, would indicate that fifty villages were crowded into the space of one county. There is on record one instance where a subordinate "Sun" succeeded through native eloquence in bending the weaker mind of the "Grand Sun" to his purpose. It was the "Chief of the Apple" advocating the extermination of the French, and he artfully caused the plan to seemingly originate with the imbecile youth then vested with the supreme power, of which we shall learn further on a subsequent page.

The right of succeeding to the highest honors of the nation among the Natchez was derived through the female "Suns," who, though invested with the high dignity of conferring such honor, seem to have been allowed no part in the affairs of government. The female "Suns" were not required to confine themselves in their selection of a husband to their own caste; indeed so far was this from being the rule, that the husband of the *Stung Arm* (the Sun's mother at the period of the massacre of the French) and the father of the "Grand Sun," was a Frenchman. The rights, privileges, immunities and honors appertaining to the "Sun" were conferred upon the fruit of this marriage, a youth of some eighteen years, by *his* marriage with the principal female "Sun." The course of succession seems intricate, but, according to their traditional history, was in regular order as required by a law which to them was divine.

"The Natchez" were in the habit of sacrificing human beings on funeral occasions to an extent unknown elsewhere on the continent, excepting among the Peruvians, whose practice was similar in character, exceeding only in the number of its victims. Whenever the mate or female "Sun" died all her *allonex* or intimate attendants devoted themselves to death, under the belief that their presence would be necessary to minister to the comfort and add to the dignity of their sovereign in another world. The wife or husband, as the case might be, was likewise immolated, and this was considered the most desirable and honorable of deaths. It was

thought noble in the Roman client to slay himself with the sword whose wound had taken his honored patron from the harassing cares and ills of life. Prompted by feelings no less magnanimous, these Mississippi Indians gathered in multitudes about their dying "Sun," and were emulous of going down with him into the grave, "to tell of his deeds of glory" in some vague spirit-land. Charlevoix relates that upon the death of a female "Sun," which occurred about the period of his visit to the "Natchez," her husband (not being noble) was strangled according to custom by the hands of his own son, after which the two bodies were laid out in state, surrounded by those of twelve dead infants who had been strangled by order of the eldest daughter of the deceased, to whose honors, dignity, and privileges she had succeeded under their peculiar law of primogeniture. Fourteen other individuals were also prepared to die and accompany the royal dead in her travels to the Spirit Land. These preparations consisted in cheerful leave-takings, after which the deluded victims swallowed pills of tobacco, which in certain quantities produces great nervous excitement, followed by almost deathly stupor, and sometimes by death itself; when otherwise, death was generally procured by the officious services of friends, speeding the parting guest to the mysterious Beyond. All of the preparations for these sacrifices were similar to those practiced by the Brahmins upon the occasion of a "Suttee" when the widow is immolated to the manes of her deceased husband, she being plied with intoxicating draughts which drown her to all sense of pain and endow her with an artificial courage equal to the ordeal in readiness for her. In the case referred to by Charlevoix, on the day of the interment of the "Sun" and her husband, the fathers and mothers of the infants sacrificed, preceding the royal bier, threw the bodies of the little ones on the ground at different distances and in such positions that they might be crushed by the bearers of the dead. The fourteen other victims being now prepared, were strangled by the relatives of the deceased and their bodies cast into the *common grave* and covered with earth. These Natchez Indians had an established religion—if the name "religion" can be applied to such crude devotional conceptions—in some particulars, however, rational and consistent. They had a regular order of priesthood and temples, in which they worshiped the sun, and where was preserved the "eternal fire," the symbol of their faith. It would seem as if their religion was shaped according to the shadowy remembrance of some half-forgotten dream of good, so pure were some of its rites and ceremonies.

It is a notable fact that it coincided closely with that of the Bogoten of Central America and the fire worshipers of the far East. While the sun

was the chief object of adoration, their temples were constructed in the plainest and most severe style of savage architecture, devoid of all tawdry splendor, and they preserved the "eternal fire" as the purest emblem of that invisible divinity whose might and power they recognized in the roar of the thunder and the fury of the storm. The duty of the savage "Sun," with the daily rising of his bright namesake, was an act of obeisance. In the spring time, and when the golden harvest of maize was ripe for the garner, festivals were celebrated with solemn rites terminating in uproarious sports.

It has been said, and justly, by one of the most celebrated historians of modern times, that "the sun and fire worship were among the most refined and seductive, and, at the same time, natural superstitions." The sun, to the untutored mind, is the apparent source of all the joy, fertility and life in nature. Like the Bogoten, the Natchez had a regular order of priesthood. The system of the former, however, embraced in its objects of veneration both sun and moon, and though of greater regularity, was far less pure than that of the latter. The Persians were of course superior to the rude people of whom we speak; they were in constant association with other and more refined nations, and within reach of the first faint glimmerings of Christian light. But the same system of *magi* was observed in these wild recesses of the Western world; also, the "feasts of seasons," similar in character to the "harvest feasts" of which the Persians partook in company with their king, who feasted with the husbandmen of his empire for the purpose of fostering that love and veneration for the head of government which bound the nation round him as a triple wall, engendering that unity which advanced the empire to such a high grade under the great Cyrus. The coincidence was remarkable, and remains among the unexplained mysteries which belong to a forgotten period of our history. The Natchez were just, generous, humane, and apparently actuated by high-toned magnanimity of feeling. Untutored noblemen of nature, they never failed to extend relief to objects of distress or misery; in fact, to their beautiful and uniform practice of benevolence may be traced their wars with and final extermination by a nation boasting itself the most refined and civilized of the Old World. They were well acquainted with the properties of the various medicinal plants common to their clime, and practiced their application with judgment and skill—facts attested by numerous cures of various diseases wrought among the French after their settlement in the country of the Natchez. Among their singular customs was that of distorting the head by compression. Numerous specimens of undoubted authenticity from the various mounds in the vicinity of Natchez and other localities

throughout the South and West have been examined. The skulls sloped almost invariably from the point of the nose backward to the crown of the head, at an angle of about forty-five degrees. The exceptions gave evidence of compression applied perpendicularly to the crown, and, in one or two instances, to the sides of the skull; these, however, were rare. Du Pratre gives a detailed account of the manner by which this artificial conformation was achieved. The infant was swathed to a board so closely as to prevent all but the very slightest movement. A stiffly tanned strip of deer skin, or a buck-skin bag, filled with sand, was applied to the part to be compressed, producing the desired effect without giving pain. "We remember years since," says our chronicler, "while in our boyhood's years, witnessing a Choctaw infant undergoing this process of adornment." De La Vega tells us that during the invasion of Florida (then an extensive region, embracing the entire South within its limits) the Spaniards met with a tribe whose heads were artificially molded into the form spoken of above. He says: "Their heads are incredibly long and pointed upwards, owing to a custom—the Inca tells us—of compressing the foreheads and that portion of the cranium covering the brain, from the period of birth until the child attained its ninth or tenth year." The people thus incidentally mentioned by De La Vega may have been the *Natches*, as there are many facts stronger than tradition to indicate that he visited this tribe in his wild wanderings. Another tribe, known at that day as the *Tulas*, a collateral branch of the Natchez, pursued the same practice and by a similar process. This compression of the skull gave them a singular appearance not consonant with our modern ideas of beauty, but if phrenology has any truth, there is little doubt but the qualities most essential to them were stimulated by the compression, such as combativeness, destructiveness, and firmness; and the depression of the intellectual organs increased those of benevolence, veneration, and self-esteem. In general appearance, the Natchez were tall, well-formed, and slightly, or rather sparsely, built, of active, sinewy, and well-knit frame, rarely, if ever, burdened with flesh, of lighter complexion than the surrounding tribes, and possessing pleasant and somewhat expressive countenances. The author of the yellow manuscript says: "It was my lot in early youth to meet with a large number of Choctaws, who were then in the habit of visiting my native city periodically for purposes of trade, in bands of from twenty to two and three hundred. We have occasionally seen the bluff in front of Natchez crowded with them for several days. Although a youth of but few years, I was fascinated with some of the characteristics of these red men, and mingled with them freely, save when excited, as they sometimes were, by fire-

water. On one occasion, we observed among the band a number of tall, finely-formed men, more marked of features, and indeed differing in every respect from the Choctaws, who are by no means famed for their beauty. Struck with this difference, I inquired of an old man of the Choctaws, with whom I was a favorite, as to its cause. He replied that the men we referred to were called *Chickasaws*, but, said he, they are the descendants of that portion of the *Natchez* which, on the defeat of their nation, attached themselves to the *Chickasaws*." From repeated subsequent inquiries, we are satisfied of the correctness of this explanation. Mr. Claiborne, who is now engaged as commissioner on the part of the United States for the adjudication of the Choctaw claims originating under "*The Dancing Rabbit Treaty*," says that while engaged in his labors at Hopaka, he met with several individuals among the Choctaws who were distinctly different from them—of superior form, manlier beauty, and more intellectual appearance, in all respects the ideal monarch of the world, before his contamination by contact with civilization and acquirement of the rude refinement of sin and shame as exemplified by the teachings of his *Old World* friends—and he was told that these individuals belonged to the lost tribe of the Tulas (a branch of the Natchez Indians) who had managed to preserve their distinct type for three hundred years.

The Natchez, satisfied with the pursuit of happiness after their own peculiar manner, seldom took part in the feuds of the tribes surrounding them, but lived secluded, having but little communication beyond what was necessary to secure the friendship of neighboring nations. The Chetimaches, Tensas, Grigris, and a detached band of Sioux were in a manner dependent on them. Too powerful to be liable to insult, their justice, generosity, and uniform benevolence made them respected and esteemed by all who had knowledge of them. Their example of refinement, their practice of all the rude virtues known to them, their life of harmless quietude, singularly free from the domineering spirit over the weak and defenceless that power engenders, had a gentle and humanizing influence on the various tribes within reach of their example, to which may be attributed, we doubt not, the fact that among their traditions we hear less of that love of bloodshed, plunder, war, rapine, and wild marauding which marks the old-time tales of the Creeks, Yamassees, and other distant tribes. Without the wish to extend its territory, the Natchez tribe turned its attention to the comfort and happiness of its members, who, being somewhat advanced in the rudiments of agriculture, with prudence worthy of all emulation, even at this late day, produced their entire supplies by home industry.

The woods furnished them with abundance of game, the creeks and

bayous supplied them with another article of diet, and they were adepts in preserving the flesh of the deer and buffalo, and in drying the fish they caught in superabundant quantities. Among their amusements Indian *ball-play* ranked high. "Two parties, of fifty a side, were stationed at opposite ends of the upper bluff, with a cottonwood pole planted equidistant from either party. Each individual held a pair of hickory wands, some four feet long, with a withe basket at the end, with which to catch and throw the ball. Stripped, like the athlete of old Greece, to the breechcloth, their fine, manly forms, each limb lithe with grace and action, each muscle standing out, and their sinewy frames ready for the hurried spring, while every eye was fired with intense interest, they stood like specimens of the master sculpture of the ancients. They might have inspired the remark of West, which so surprised the Italians who were displaying to him some of the master-pieces of sculpture in Rome: 'How like a young Mohawk warrior: I have seen them often, standing in the very attitude of this Apollo!' A hundred such forms were there; like blood-hounds in the slip they stood, statue-like, awaiting the signal of their leaders. A signal was given by Push-ma-ta-la, the ball was thrown, and then commenced a scene of wild excitement. The loud shout, and rapid race, and furious rush, each striving to obtain the ball, with intent to throw and hit the pole, this feat in the game counting one. But how difficult to perform may be imagined, for even when the ball was safely basketed and ready for the throw, the opposing party, in every instance pressing round the fortunate possessor, and by all means, fair or foul, gentle or severe, endeavoring to deprive him of it, or distract his aim, while his friends mingled in the fray, using all efforts to protect him, and every moment on the ear broke the shrill shriek, or loud whoop and yell like their wild battle-cry; every eye gleaming with excitement, each agile form as alert as the chamois on its native hills, now rolling for an instant on the earth, the next erect and fleet as the wind to mix again in the mimic battle. The ball flies far and wide of the mark—each eye marks its course, and thither, pell-mell they rush, the opponents using every art to delay each other's progress—as when a nimble youth, in advance of some veteran player, stays his speed, and with well-feigned awkwardness stumbles and falls headlong across the other's path; the quick glance of the latter detects the trick, but too late for remedy, and in revenge, ere he falls, gives the youth warm greeting with his foot. Up again and away, both fly, while their loud and merry laughter rings out upon the air.

"They play with joyous abandon. All thoughts save those of merriment and glee are for the time banished. At last an agile youth, active as a

mountain cat, outspeeds the crowd and gains the ball. It is basketed and poised for the throw full a hundred yards from the pole! The gathering throng of friend and foe is closing round him. Closer and closer they press upon him; like a graceful pine, bending for an instant to the storm-blast, the tall youth is swayed for a second by the surging throng, then, drawing himself up to his full height, he rises on tip-toe, and with a swift and sudden motion whirls his staves; they open; the ball flies fast and far, true as the glance which scanned the distant pole; the pole quivers like an aspen under the shock of contact! Away, in wild career they run, circling round like untamed and riderless steeds. Warmed with the wild and furious fun, Push-ma-ta-la puts forth his every energy. *A leader*, he wishes to finish the game. New life thrills in his every bound; his sinewy form well adapts itself to sport like this. He gains the ball, throws it high above him in the air, watches its course, catches it in its descent, and before another player reaches the spot the pole again quivers, for his aim is true! Long, loud, and deafening shouts from all, victors and vanquished, testify their approbation of this master-throw, and proclaim the game completed."

Such was the character, the occupations, and the amusements of the Natchez before they were molested by the vanguard of those civilized intruders who were soon to put to flight the spirits of peace and contentment that had brooded so long over the beautiful hunting grounds. The first French settlement was made at Natchez in 1713. A rude palisade, scarce susceptible of defense, was erected and dignified by the title of a fort, in addition to which several other buildings for storehouses and dwellings were erected. Settlers had at various times planted themselves among the Natchez, and all were alike well received. The first of these was a Ricollet prior, Father Darrin, who after several years' residence removed to the cliffs about Fort Adams, which from this circumstance was originally called La Roche a Darrin. Here he resided, hermit-like, leading a life of holiness, and by his beautiful example and holy precepts obtained wide influence over numerous tribes in that region. A larger party of colonists sent forward by the government was received with hospitality. Many of these located in the surrounding country, and quite a number joined in forming a settlement upon the Creek of St. Catherine. Others, again, penetrated the country as far north as the Yazoo River and there settled, erecting for their defense a fort, which, according to some authorities, was destroyed by the Chickasaws in 1723, during hostilities with the French.

It is worthy of note that among all the European nations who aided in opening up the western world, none so won upon the aboriginal tribes as

the French. They claimed and commanded savage admiration, and appropriated savage friendship for their own ends. With that gay adaptability which is a fortune to its possessor, these volatile foreigners gave cordial recognition to the patent virtues of the Natchez tribe, and affiliated with them readily. To such an extent was the friendship thus won used by the French, that they availed themselves of it in many cases of threatened or actual outbreak on the part of less pacific tribes. Of all the Indians known to the French, the Natchez were most serviceable to them, receiving them upon their first entrance into the country with a hospitality which extended to the presentation of their lands, leaving the selection to the French themselves, "for," said the "Grand Sun," with a noble liberality worthy his kingship, "the world is wide enough for the Natchez and their friends the French; they should walk peaceably in the same paths, and enjoy the light of the same sun." Is there one page of written history which can compare with this sentiment for royal hospitality? Generosity of purpose and high magnanimity of feeling marked all their earlier intercourse with the French. They fed them with the fruits of their own labor, aided them in the chase, and labored with them in the erection of their buildings. Iberville first visited them in 1699. He was delighted with the beauty and fertility of the country, and charmed with its simple-hearted inhabitants, who received him as a brother. He remained for some time, cultivating their friendship and exploring the country with a view to the settlement of a colony within its borders. By his kindness and proper appreciation of the spirit manifested by them toward himself and countrymen, he captivated the "Grand Sun" and the "Suns" of the numerous villages, obtaining from them the site for an extensive town, and also the privilege of erecting a fort. The spot selected by Iberville for the latter purpose was that occupied by the present city of Natchez, and was called by him, in honor of the lady of his patron, the Count de Pontchartrain, La Ville de Rosalie aux Natchez. Familiar as was Iberville with the various tribes from Florida to the extreme limit of French domination, throughout the northern continent, he gives the palm to the Natchez above all, as being "more advanced in civilization and those rude refinements which mark the progress of a nation gradually emerging from the darkest shades of barbarism, or, as probable, *stayed* in their fall from some loftier height which may have belonged to their remote ancestors." Iberville, who was in his age distinguished for his knowledge of aboriginal character, his just estimate of them as tribes and nations, characterized the Natchez, as a race, "as noble and generous, inclined to the pursuits of peace, but by the same qualities rendered more terrible in war." To illustrate this trait: they

exercised sway over numerous tribes in their vicinity. Yet they did not secure them as tributaries, exacted no levies, and required their aid only when other and more warlike tribes, by repeated encroachments, forced them to the field. On such occasions, their arrangements partook of more order and gave evidence of a higher knowledge of military tactics than was common at that early day among the aborigines. Possessing all necessary courage, they were cautious, prudent and most determined in battle, yet at all times open to honorable propositions for peace.

The opinion formed by Iberville of the unflinching bravery and determined courage of this peculiar people, as well as their will and power to protect themselves from injury, was proven upon further acquaintance to be correct; and from this fact, the French were for a time induced to act with greater caution and circumspection in their dealings with them than was always the case with the white intruders toward the lords of the soil. At first kindness was returned for kindness, and nothing but slight retaliation was inflicted for any slight injury inflicted on one of their number, but, as was generally the case, the whites became encouraged after an intercourse of the most amicable and friendly character had continued for several years, and began to encroach upon the gallant natives. At first infringing slightly upon their rights, then by trivial exactions and unwise boasting. The pride and wrath of the free sons of the forest were at last excited. Remonstrances against repeated outrages, of seemingly small import, were made; an unwilling ear was turned to them. The natives referred with pride to the time when the infant colony derived its sole support from their kindness, and endeavored to awaken the better feelings of the French to a sense of the injustice and wrong inflicted by minor officials of their colony, who were too far removed from the chief of the government to be under his immediate notice—but all in vain. The moment came when forbearance ceased. On the morning of December 28, 1729, the Natchez Indians arose in their wrath and murdered every Frenchman in the colony. While rejoicing in their success they were in turn attacked January 28, 1730, by the Choctaws, under the leadership of Le Sueur, who took swift and terrible vengeance for the slaughter of his countrymen. A few days later Soubois, at the head of the French troops, completed the work of destruction.

Part of the doomed tribe escaped across the Mississippi to the vicinity of Natchitoches, but the fortress they there erected could not long withstand the force sent against it. The chief and over four hundred of the tribe were taken prisoners and sold as slaves, while some were incorporated with the Chickasaws and Muskogees, and others fled to the far West. Thus perished the Natchez Indians.

THE GRISWOLD FAMILY OF CONNECTICUT*

WITH PEDIGREE

III

3. *Roger*, born May 21, 1762; graduated at Yale College in 1780, in the same class with his brother Matthew. He studied law with his father; was admitted to the bar of New London in 1783; and was chosen to be a Representative in Congress in 1794, which place he filled for the ten following years. In 1801 he was appointed Secretary of War by President Adams, but declined the honor, having previously requested that the nomination might be withdrawn. He was a Judge of the Superior Court from 1807 to 1809; was elected by the Legislature Lieut.-Governor of Connecticut in 1809, and continued to hold that office till 1811, when, by popular vote, he became Chief Magistrate of the State. He died in the chief magistracy, Oct. 25, 1812. In all positions he proved himself a born "master of men." Of his early career as an advocate it is related by an eye-witness that on one occasion, when only twenty-six years old, being called to argue before the Supreme Court an important case "involving many intricate questions," in company with another "gentleman of the first rank in his profession," he did his work so thoroughly well that his associate was constrained to acknowledge "that after the very able argument of the very ingenious young gentleman who had just sat down, any observations from him could answer no other purpose than to injure his client's cause." † A very handsome man, with flashing black eyes, a commanding figure and majestic mien, as described by one still living who often saw him, ‡ he seemed even by outward presence born to rule.

The National Hall of Representatives was the chief field of his influence. Here, during part of President Washington's administration, the whole of that of President Adams, and especially during a part of the administration of President Jefferson, when he was in the opposition, he stood forth as the fearless yet always courteous, the uncompromising though cautious, champion of the political principles of the school of Washington. Though commanding, he was never arbitrary. His opin-

† An Eulogium . . . of His Excellency Roger Griswold . . . By David Daggett . . . New Haven, 1812. pp. 9, 10.

‡ Judge Charles J. McCurdy of Lyme.

* Copyright, 1884, by Edward Elbridge Salisbury.

ions were always respectfully heeded, even by his opponents, however they might argue against them, in frank debate, or seek for vulnerable points at which to assail him secretly, or endeavor to pierce his armor with shafts of raillery, as did John Randolph of Roanoke, his frequent antagonist in the discussion of important questions. Most of the great public questions of his time have either passed out of the minds of the present generation, or assumed new aspects through the onward rush of events—"tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur cum illis"—so that a detailed review of the political life of Roger Griswold, except in an elaborate biography, might be out of place. But justice requires that this family-memorial should recognize his profound loyalty to principle, his supreme and unswerving regard to what he thought to be right, irrespective of considerations of expediency, which caused it to be said of him: "There is no duty he will not be found adequate to, nor any one from which he will shrink,"* and which "extorted even from his political adversaries an affection for his worth, a reverence for his pre-eminent talents."† The secret of his power lay, as has been said, in the "wonderful promptness" of his mind, which "penetrated every subject presented to it," and "saw it clearly and in all its connections. What others gained by study and reflection he attained by intuition. Having no obliquity of intention, he went directly to his object."‡ No one can read the Journal of Congress during his membership in the House without noticing how invariably he viewed every subject brought up as it was affected by the fundamental law of the land, the Constitution, and by constitutional interpretations.

As expressive of the trust reposed in him by others of the eminent patriots of his day, a fact perhaps not generally known may be here recorded—that some of the leading Federalists who met, after his death, in the famous Hartford Convention, had had their attention turned to him for President in the possible contingency of a separation of the New England States from the rest of the Union. This fact was communicated to me by the late Mr. Frederick H. Wolcott, of Astoria, L. I., as he heard it from his father, a brother of Gov. Oliver Wolcott, who often spoke of Gov. Griswold, says his son, "in terms of affection, and profound respect for his eminent qualities," though he was not in sympathy with the political opinions of the Old Federalist leaders.

Here it is proper to speak of the personal violence committed on Mr.

* Letter of Chauncey Goodrich to Oliver Wolcott, Sen., dated Mar. 26, 1796, in *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams* . . . By George Gibbs . . . New York, 1846, i. 324.

† Daggett's Eulogium, ut supra, p. 12.

‡ Id., ibid.

Griswold by Matthew Lyon in 1798, and Mr. Griswold's resentment of it. I relate the occurrence in the words of a son of the late Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, a fellow Congressman and political as well as personal friend of Mr. Griswold :

"In 1797 he [Lyon] went to Congress, where he inaugurated, in Jan. 1798, the series of acts of personal insult and violence which have disgraced Congress, from time to time, from that day to this, by spitting in the face of Mr. Griswold of Connecticut, on some occasion of offense he took at him. The House refusing to expel him by a strict party vote, Mr. Griswold took justice into his own hands, and caned him in his seat a few days afterwards, for which singular process of redress he too went scot-free, also by a party vote, neither the Administration nor the Opposition commanding the two-thirds requisite for the expulsion of a member."*

The motives which actuated Mr. Griswold in the course he took in this affair will be best understood from a private letter to his wife, dated Philadelphia, Feb. 28, 1798, in which he says :

"After the decision of the house which retained the wretch in his seat, I found but two courses which (in my opinion) I cou'd possibly take—either to address a letter to the House, and in severe language criminate the conduct of the minority in the House, and resign my seat, or to pursue the course which I have taken—chastise the rascal in his seat, and by that act chastise both him and the party, and in defiance of them all let them know that I knew how to avenge my own wrongs, and that I was not to be driven from my seat by any villainy of theirs. To the first of these measures there were very great objections—I did not feel willing to return into Connecticut, after the insult I had received in so public a manner, without taking satisfaction . . . in addition to which circumstance the idea of being driven from the House by a minority, when a majority were giving me every support in their power, and were prepared to vindicate every step which I should take, seemed to carry along with it a certain meanness of spirit and want of resolution which was wholly inadmissible ; the other course, although attended with difficulties, was in my opinion much to be preferred : it look'd like going forward, conscious of the injury which I had received, and at the same time with a determination to punish it, in defiance of faction, and a resolution to maintain my situation without fearing the efforts of villains to discourage me. The events have completely justified the measure, and, although my enemies may condemn the harshness of the remedy, yet my friends will approve of it : the newspaper squibs which have and will appear on the occasion are of no consequence—they may tell lies as usual, but they cannot take off the beating."

The same views are expressed in a letter to his father, dated March 19, 1798, as follows :

"I have no idea of committing any further violence myself ; the violence which I committed by chastising the Vermonter had become absolutely necessary—I was reduced to the necessity either of leaving Congress with disgrace to myself, and, in addition thereto

* Life of Josiah Quincy . . . By his son Edmund Quincy. Boston, 1868, p. 327.

to leave a stigma on the State which wou'd be constantly thrown at our Representatives, or to wipe off the stigma by inflicting a public chastisement. I chose the latter, as I believe every man who possess'd any spirit wou'd have done; and, although I regret the occasion, yet I believe I shall never lament the measure."

This is the inner history of the much-talked-of "affair" between Roger Griswold and Matthew Lyon. It will be seen that Mr. Griswold's course was not prompted by any spirit of revenge: he shrank from the act of personal violence, and only resorted to it because no other redress could be obtained. In accordance with the spirit of the times, his "honor must be maintained." If he had been a Southerner, he would have promptly challenged Lyon to a duel; being a Northerner, accustomed to self-control, and attaching a high value to human life, he did but stand on the defensive in a manly use of nature's weapons. The power of the old Griswold champion, his ancestor, came over him; the sense of right and an indignant revolt against the gross injury he had received added strength to his tall, athletic form; and in the presence of the Congress before which he had been insulted he vindicated his honor, and silenced his opponent.

"As a judge," to quote again the words of another, "that sincerity, that incorruptible integrity which adorned his life, eminently appeared. His very respectable associates on the judgment-seat, and the suitors and advocates who witnessed his deportment, will testify that all the vehemence and ardour of the advocate were left at the bar, and that candour, patience & deliberation governed his conduct. His discernment & virtue were a protection to the innocent; the oppressor and the fraudulent, like the wicked, were scattered with his eye."*

During the brief time he occupied the gubernatorial chair, though already suffering from mortal illness, he was unsparing of himself in his devotion to the interests of his native State, amid unusual perplexities arising from national events, as well as from the settlement of delicate questions which they called for, concerning the relations of State to National authority.

He was a dutiful son, an affectionate husband and father. He was of a social nature; warm in his friendships, gracious of deportment in the general intercourse of society, sympathetic towards all objects of public utility, and a benefactor of the needy.

The following extracts from his speeches are given as specimens of his style of argument and modes of expression in public debate. They are from speeches delivered by him as Member of Congress in 1802 and 1803, on a call for papers relative to the Louisiana Treaty, on a proposed amend-

* Daggett's Eulogium, *ut supra*, pp. 13-14.

ment to the Constitution respecting the election of President, and on the constitutional right of Congress to unseat judges by repealing the law regulating their appointment.

Discussing the first of these subjects, he said :

"I am one of those who do now believe, and always have believed, that the exclusive right of forming treaties resides in the President & Senate ; and that, when ratified, it is the duty of every department of the Government to carry them into effect. This treaty, then, if fairly and constitutionally made, is a law of the land, and we are bound to execute it. But it is necessary to know its nature & effects, to carry it into execution. If it is a mere dead letter, there is no necessity for any laws whatever. . . . In my judgment the treaty is uncertain. . . . If we have acquired the country & people, it is certainly proper to pass laws for the preservation of order and tranquillity ; but if we have acquired neither, whence the necessity of passing such laws ? It would be improper ; it would be usurpation. We contend that the treaty does not ascertain these points ; gentlemen differ from us in opinion. But I beg them calmly and seriously to attend to its language. By the first article it appears that Spain promised to cede Louisiana to France on certain stipulations. She *promises* to cede. Gentlemen cannot mistake the import of the language ; it is a promise, not a cession. Will it be said that France acquired any title by this promise ? . . . The terms of the treaty are, 'Whereas, in pursuance of the treaty [of Ildefonso], and particularly of the third article, the French Republic has an incontestible title,' &c. Will gentlemen say that this assertion on the part of France gives her a title ? It gives her no title. An assertion by France cannot affect Spain. . . ."

And again :

"By this article it is declared : 'That the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens.' It is, perhaps, somewhat difficult to ascertain the precise effect which it was intended to give the words which have been used in this stipulation. It is, however, clear that it was intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the ceded territory into the Union, by the treaty itself, or to pledge the faith of the nation that such an incorporation should take place within a reasonable time. It is proper, therefore, to consider the question with a reference to both constructions.

"It is, in my opinion, scarcely possible for any gentleman on this floor to advance an opinion that the President and Senate may add to the members of the Union by treaty whenever they please. . . . Such a power would be directly repugnant to the original compact between the States, and a violation of the principles on which that compact was formed. It has been already well observed that the union of the States was formed on the principle of a copartnership, and it would be absurd to suppose that the agents of the parties who have been appointed to execute the business of the compact, in behalf of the principals, could admit a new partner without the consent of the parties themselves. And yet, if the first construction is assumed, such must be the case under this Constitution, and the President and Senate may admit, at will, any foreign nation into this copartnership, without the consent of the States. . . ."

"The government of the United States was not formed for the purpose of distributing

its principles and advantages to foreign nations. It was formed with the sole view of securing those blessings to ourselves and our posterity. It follows from these principles that no power can reside in any public functionary to contract any engagement, or to pursue any measure, which shall change the union of the States. . . . The President, with the advice of the Senate, has undoubtedly the right to form treaties, but in exercising these powers he cannot barter away the Constitution, or the rights of particular States. . . . The government having been formed by a union of States, it is supposable that the fear of an undue or preponderating influence, in certain parts of this Union, must have great weight in the minds of those who might apprehend that such an influence might ultimately injure the interests of the States to which they belonged; and, although they might consent to become parties to the Union, as it was then formed, it is highly probable they would never have consented to such a connection, if a new world was to be thrown into the scale, to weigh down the influence which they might otherwise possess in the national councils." . . . *

In the debate on the proposed amendment to the Constitution, mainly to the end that only one person should be voted for as President, instead of two, by the Electors of each State—which was adopted, and has been ever since in force—he said :

"There is another view of this subject which furnishes to my mind a conclusive argument against the proposed amendment. In all governments which have hitherto existed, in which the elective principle has extended to the Executive Magistrate, it has been impossible, for any length of time, to guard against corruption in the elections. The danger is not an imaginary one in this country. The office of President is at this time the great object of ambition, and, as the wealth and population of this country increase, the powers of patronage of the President must necessarily be extended. We cannot expect to escape the fate of other republics. Candidates for the office of President will arise who, under the assumed garb of patriotism and disinterested benevolence, will disguise the most unprincipled ambition. Corruption will be practiced by such candidates whenever it can be done with success.

"It is therefore an object of the first importance to regulate the election in such a manner as to remove, as far as possible, both the temptation and the means of corruption. If gentlemen will attend to the proposed amendment with reference to this point, they will find that the means and the temptation to corruption must be increased. As the Constitution now stands, the man who aspires to the office of President can at best but run the race on equal terms with some individual of his own party. In order to succeed he must not only obtain for himself and his associate a greater number of votes than his own political opponents, but he must obtain more votes than the associate himself. The chances of success are by those means rendered more remote, and, however desirable the office may be, the temptations to enter the list, or to make individual exertions, are diminished. The means of corruption must generally be found in the offices at the disposal of the President; and these, it is well known, constitute a fund of great extent; and when the election is brought to such a point as to rest with two candidates only, this fund may be used with

* Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States. . . . Eighth Congress . . . 1803-04. Washington, 1852, pp. 404, 461-62.

great success. . . . But so long as your elections remain on this present footing, the means of corruption are diminished, because the aspiring candidate can only promise this corrupt distribution of offices upon eventually succeeding to the Presidency ; and, as his chances of success are diminished by the mode of election, his promises are of less value to the Elector, and of course will be less frequently made and more generally rejected. . . .

"But there is one important lesson which the experience of that election [the election of Jefferson by the House of Representatives] has taught the people of the United States—it is this, that it becomes the great and solemn duty of Electors, upon all occasions, to give their votes for two men who shall be best qualified for the office of President. The Electors do not—they cannot—know which of their own candidates will succeed. They are therefore called upon by every sacred principle to select the most eminent of their fellow-citizens. They will be stimulated, on all future occasions, by the experience of the last election, to do, what I trust they have heretofore done—to give their votes for two men in either of whom they are willing to confide the Executive power of the Government. What then can induce us to change the form of our elections ? Some gentlemen have said a great deal about the voice of the people, and declared that the people demand the alteration. This is a language too frequently used within these walls. The purposes for which it is used I leave to others to explain ; but it must be perfectly understood that the clamors of designing men are too often mistaken for the voice of the people. The people are rarely disposed to seek for changes, whilst they feel and enjoy the blessings of their old establishments. Be this as it may, we have been sent into this House to obey no voice but that of our own consciences and judgments." . . . *

One sees in all these speeches the qualities of his mind and character. But the most clear, terse, compact, conclusive and exhaustive of all his arguments was, probably, that which he delivered in 1802, on the question whether Congress has the power to remove judges, during good behavior, by abolishing their offices—a question which arose in the first session under Jefferson's presidency, with reference to appointments made at a late day of the administration of his predecessor. This argument has been considered one of the very ablest ever made in Congress ; yet its power so much depends upon its completeness that full justice cannot be done to it by extracting single passages. I venture, however, to quote the following :

"There is another strange position which has been advocated upon this occasion, and which deserves some attention because it has been often repeated. It is that, although you cannot remove the judge from the office, you may remove the office from the judge. To this extraordinary assertion I answer that the words of the Constitution admit of no such construction. The expression being that the judge shall hold his office during good behaviour, necessarily implies and secures a union of the office and the officer, so long as the officer shall behave well ; and a removal of the office from the judge destroys as effectually this union as the removal of the judge from the office could do. . . . If constructions of this kind can be admitted, there is not a crime which was ever perpetrated by man which cannot be justified. Sir, upon this principle, although you may not kill by

* Debates and Proceedings in the Congress . . . ut supra, pp. 749-52

thrusting a dagger into the breast of your neighbor, yet you may compel your neighbor to kill himself by forcing him upon the dagger; you shall not murder by destroying the life of a man, but you may confine your enemy in prison, and leave him without food, to starve and to die. These may be good distinctions in the new system of philosophy, but they can never be admitted in the old school. . . .

"The power given to the courts to pronounce on the constitutionality of laws would be entirely defeated in those times when the exercise of that power becomes most necessary, if the judges are not placed beyond the power of the Legislature. The idea of giving this power to the courts, and at the same time of leaving the courts at the mercy of that department over which the power is to be exercised, is rather too absurd for gentlemen even in these days of extravagance; and gentlemen aware of this have had the confidence to deny that this power resides in the courts. . . .

"Sir, if there is no power to check the usurpations of the Legislature, the inevitable consequence must be that the Congress of the United States becomes truly omnipotent. All power must be concentrated here, before which every department and all State-authorities must fall prostrate. Admit this principle and nothing can resist the attacks of your national laws upon our State-sovereignties. Here is an end of your Federal government. A consolidation of the States is the immediate effect, and in a few short years these sovereignties will not even obtain the name

"I should now close the observations which I had to submit to the Committee upon this interesting question, had not the gentlemen on the other side of the House thought proper to involve in this debate a discussion of several topics not necessarily connected with the subject . . . and, although I cannot see their application, yet I am not disposed to set up my discernment as the standard of infallibility, and shall therefore now pay due respect to the path which these gentlemen have marked out. . . .

"The gentleman begins his remarks by saying that two parties have existed in this country from the commencement of the present Government: the one what the gentleman has been pleased to denominate a party of energy, and the other a party of responsibility; the first, disposed to go forward with the affairs of the Government with energy, as they seemed right and expedient, and the other only in submission to the public will. Sir, it can be no news to the members of this Committee that two parties exist in this country, nor can gentlemen be ignorant that two parties did exist in the nation at the adoption of the Constitution; the one consisting of its friends, and the other composed of its enemies; nor is it necessary for me to say how the present have grown out of these original parties. It is sufficient for my present purpose to say that the parties alluded to by the gentleman from Virginia are characterized by prominent features, and cannot easily be mistaken. . . . One great feature which has characterized those whom the gentleman has been pleased to denominate the party of energy, has been their strong attachment to the present Constitution; and a determination not only to leave each department to the exercise of its proper functions, but to support them in it. Their opponents, to say nothing of their attachment to the Constitution, have on the contrary been disposed to bring all the powers of the Government into the House of Representatives, and in that way to strip the other branches of their constitutional authority. . . .

"Again, this party of energy was disposed to establish and support public credit, in which their opponents did not agree. This party of energy was likewise determined to defend their country against the hostile attacks of the enemy, and to support the interests, the safety and honor of the nation; their opponents, on the contrary, were disposed to

prostrate everything that was dear to the will of the enemy. One party was disposed to build up and support, while the others were, and still are, determined to pull down and destroy. . . .

"The public debt has been spoken of, and it has been charged as a crime that these solemn engagements, which were the price of our independence, and for the discharge of which the national faith was pledged, have been provided for by the old Administration. Sir, are we to understand that this crime is to be ultimately atoned for by wiping out the debt with a sponge? . . .

"The Indian war has also been alluded to in very extraordinary language, as an event which was greedily seized to enlarge the field of Executive patronage. Sir, the gentleman cannot intend to insinuate that the Indian war was excited by the Administration; the causes which produced that war are too publicly known to be forgotten or misunderstood. And has it indeed, at this time, become criminal for the Government to defend the inhabitants of our frontier from the attacks of the savages?

"The gentleman has likewise told us that the depredations upon our commerce by the Barbary Powers, and by the French cruisers, were made a pretext for commencing a Naval Establishment, and in this way of extending this bugbear of Executive patronage. Sir, this remark gives me no surprise. I know perfectly well that there is a party in this country who are opposed to our commerce and to our navy. I shall long recollect the depredations which were made upon our commerce by the French, and the difficulty with which gentlemen were persuaded to repel those depredations. I cannot forget that, before they would consent to our first measure of defence, the cruisers of France were capturing your ships within the Delaware Bay. It is certainly true that the old Administration was neither the enemy of commerce nor of the navy; and it is as certainly true that they were equally disposed to defend your citizens against Algerine slavery and the depredations of France. And to merchants and seamen of this country, and the community at large, I am willing to refer the question whether it was proper to surrender our commerce to the enemy, and give up our seamen to slavery, or defend both by an adequate Naval Establishment." . . . *

The representatives of some of Governor Griswold's confidential correspondents have been applied to for letters of his which might enrich this record; but time and the indifference of younger generations have rendered the application fruitless. Only one letter of this sort has been found, which is among the family-papers at Blackhall. Nor have many important letters addressed to him been handed down in the family.

The one confidential letter of Governor Griswold here referred to was addressed to Judge Elias Perkins of New London, Conn. It is highly worthy of preservation, both for its subject and its tone. As will be seen, it was called forth by the failure of the negotiations of the special envoys to France—Pinckney, Marshall and Gerry—in the time of the French Directory, under Talleyrand as Minister of Foreign Affairs, in 1797-98, respecting depredations on American commerce committed in pursuance of the war

* Debates and Proc. of the Congress. . . . Seventh Congress. . . . 1801-02. Washington, 1851, pp. 779, 783, 791-93.

then going on between France and Great Britain.* The letter is as follows:

"Philadelphia, June 20th, 1798.

"Dear Sir,

"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant.

"The impressions which the reading of the dispatches from our Envoys have made on your mind, are such as every man must feel who is alive to the honour and interests of this Country; the only apology which I can form for the feeble display of spirit, which appears in their note to the minister of foreign relations, arises from the c——d situation into which they were thrown. Without knowing the real temper of this Country, Marshall and Pinckney were connected with a New-Englander who was supposed to represent the feelings and wishes of the New-England States: to disagree with such a man, placed in so important a situation, and representing at best a divided people, appeared like rushing on destruction: if by such a step they shou'd lose the confidence of the Northern States, the Country must have been lost. From this consideration only can I account for their subscribing to expressions which must have put their pride and sentiments on the rack: the thing certainly admits of palliation, but after all I can hardly excuse these Gentlemen, as highly as I respect them, for the manner in which they consented to discuss the question of a Loan. But the business has gone past, and the mission is at an end, and we may rejoice that it has terminated so well. Marshall is here, and a description of what he and Pinckney have suffered . . . † is sufficient to render even their faults virtues.

"Your sentiments respecting the want of decision and spirit in this government correspond with my own: if Heaven did not take better care of us than we take of ourselves, we shou'd sink never to rise again.

"The history of the world, in every page, demonstrates that no nation ever gained anything by forbearance or timidity—a bold, decided and manly administration allways has and allways will be crowned with success; even war itself, which the feeble-minded so greatly dread, can only be avoided by boldness; indecision and pusillanimity only invite aggression, and the neck that submits will allways decorate the gibbet. These truths have been exemplified in the progress of our disputes with France. Mr. Marshall now declares, what a great many preached two years ago, that, if this government had acted with spirit and decision one year ago, there wou'd have been no difficulty in bringing the late negotiation to a fortunate issue. But what cou'd be expected for a people who were kneeling at the footstool of French despotism? Justice has but little to do in the adjustment of disputes between nations, and, so long as America appeared willing to put on the chains of servitude, the Gallic Tyrants were willing to supply them. Wou'd to God that our experience even at this time taught us wisdom; but an unaccountable spirit of timidity and weakness still prevails among a certain class of persons who are strongly attached to the Government; this conduct is gradually undermining the main pillar of our existence—it is sapping the foundation of that confidence on which alone our nation can rest; the truth really is that no one measure has been adopted by the Legislature for the national defence

* See History of the United States of America. By Richard Hildreth. New York, 1855, ii. 95 ff.; and Gibbs's Admin. of Washington and Adams. . . . ut supra, i. 558 ff. and ii. 2 ff.

† The imputations cast upon Gerry, in connection with this celebrated mission, have been fully set aside by a plain statement of facts, with documentary proofs, in the Life of Elbridge Gerry. . . . By James T. Austin. Boston, 1829. ii. 190-295.

which has not been forced upon it by the pressure of public opinion ; and the Government, consisting of all its departments, which ought by its united energy to give a tone to the public mind, and point out the path of honour and Independence, has been driven like chaff before a torrent of public spirit which cou'd not be entirely resisted.

"I hope the return of Mr. Marshall will bring along with it new spirit and energy ; and those honest men who have heretofore sought for peace with meekness and humility, will at last learn that it is only to be found in firmness, energy & honour.

"Mr. Marshall declares that, in his opinion, the French have taken their ground in respect to this Country, from which they will not, without a new revolution in Paris, recede—that we are to expect nothing but War or Tribute, that we have our choice of these alternatives ; and I trust that the choice has been long since made in the breast of every American.

"I remain with esteem

Your friend & very Humble Serv^t

R. Griswold."

Of letters addressed to Gov. Griswold, preserved in the family, the following are all which it seems worth while to incorporate, either entire or in part, in this memorial :

"New London, January 18th, 1800.

"Dear Sir,

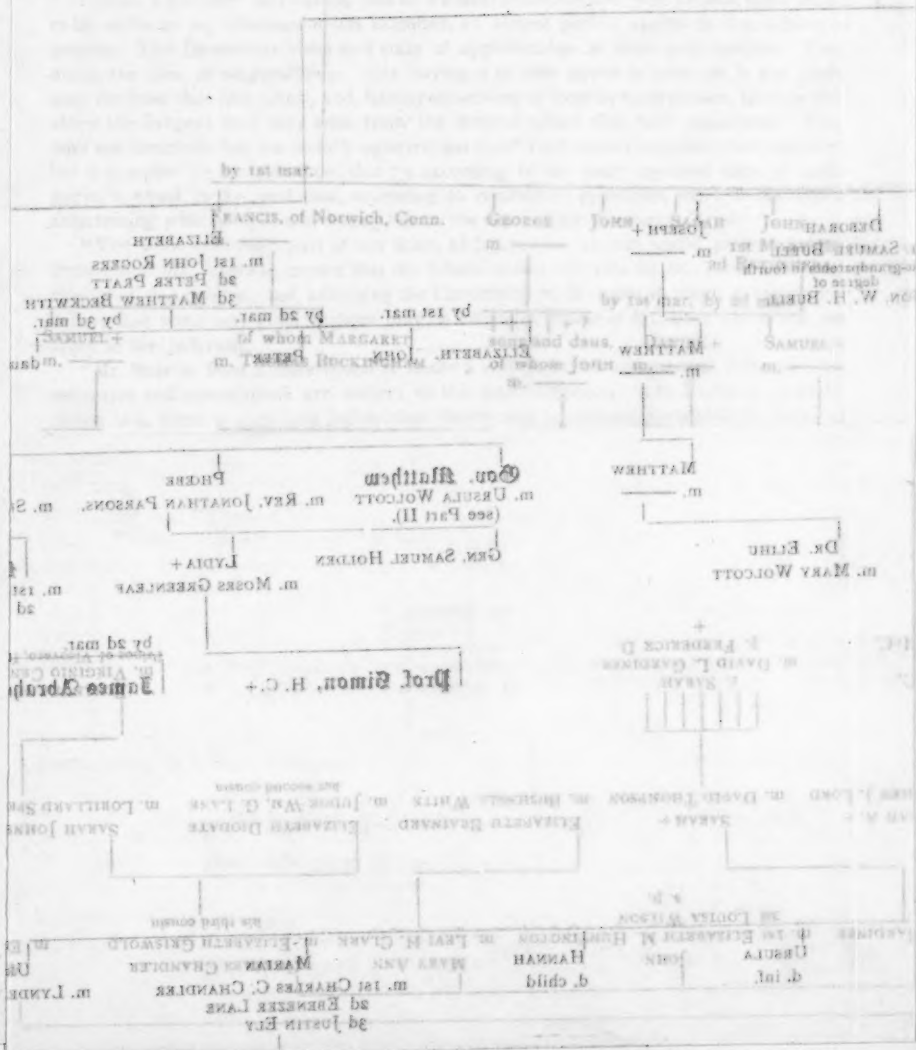
"I most sincerely concur with you in your sentiments on the death of Gen^l Washington. The citizens of this town joined last week with the garrison in paying funeral honors to the memory of the illustrious deceas^d—the proceedings were indeed solemn, and calculated to make a strong impression. May the honorable sensibility excited in this and other places have the effect to allay the envy and malignity naturally arising in narrow minds towards the authors of great and noble actions, and turn the whole attention on the distinguished merit of the mighty Chief! Happy will it be for this Country if his moral and political virtues should be the criterion by which the American character shall be formed.

"The concourse of people upon this mournful occasion, from this and the neighboring towns, was immense ; an address was delivered by Gen^l Huntington, & an oration by Lyman Law, which do honor to the performers. It must be wisdom in the friends of order to improve the present sensibility of the nation to our political advantage. And may the Hero, like Sampson, slay more of his enemies at his death than in his whole lifetime! Nations as well as individuals are governed by habit ; most people are willing to take the general opinion upon trust, if they can be freed from the trouble of investigating its propriety. Hence the importance of establishing right modes of thinking as well as acting. Let the principles of Washington be the rule of faith and practice, and our children be taught that his ways were pleasantness, and his *paths peace*.

"Your remark that the exertions of the Jacobins, this Election, would be powerful & violent, begins to be verified. We have had a specimen of it here within a few days. Our mechanics received a communication through Holt the Printer from the same body at New Haven. The ostensible object was to form mechanic societies through the State, and to have a general meeting at New Haven, to consult on measures for the benefit of the craft. You will readily see that this is no other than a different name for democratic societies. Few but Demos were invited to the meeting. By accident it became public, and the more respectable mechanics attended & voted the business down. . . .

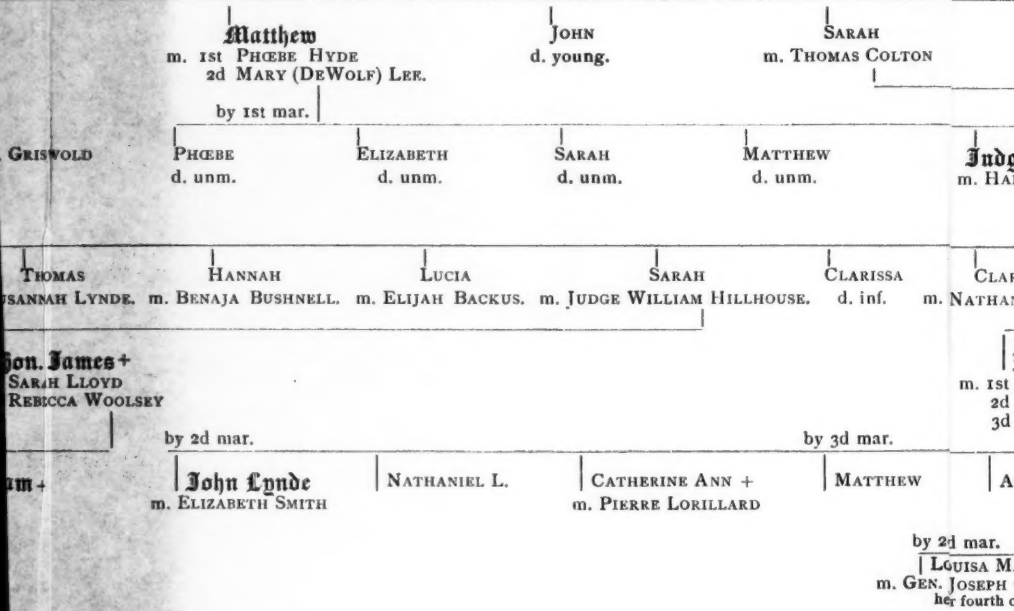
George Griswold

Edward
All those members of Kenilworth, Co. Warwick
ad. (—) BENIS



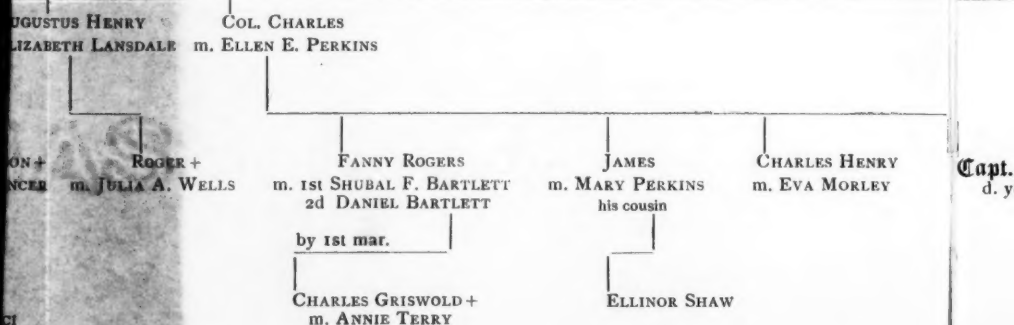
Pedigree of Gris

+ This mark indicates other children, younger or older



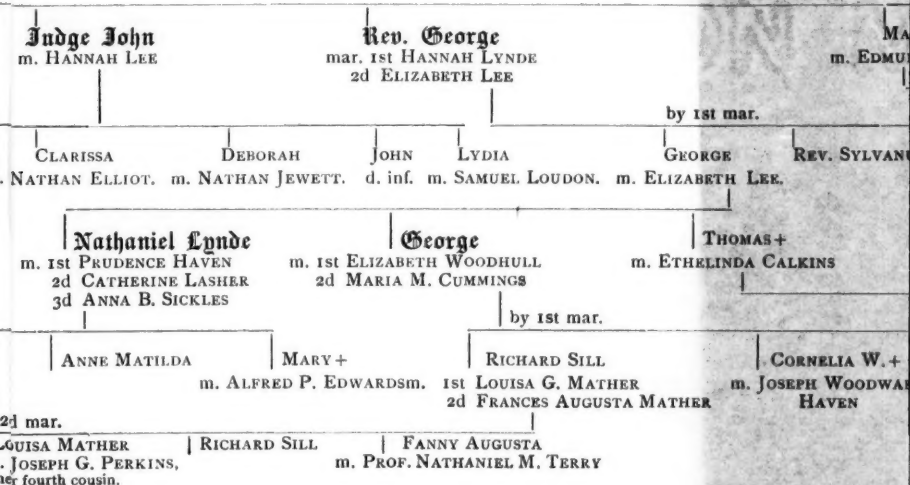
Griswold Pedigree (contin

DESCENDANTS OF GOVERNOR MATTHEW G



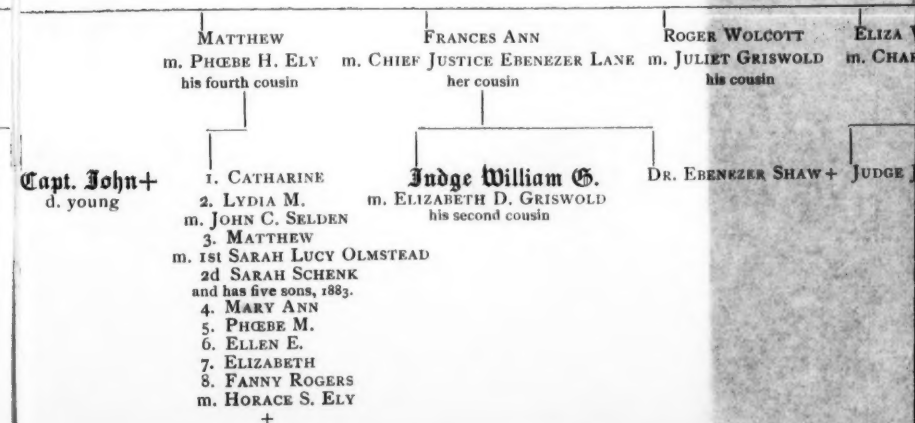
riswold

er or older, not named.



(continued).

HEW GRISWOLD.



PART I.

George Griswold

m.

Edward
m. 1st MARGARET
2d — (—) BEMIS

(b. 1607, d. 1691)
emigrated to New England 1639,
of Windsor, afterwards of
Killingworth, Conn.

Matthew
m. ANNA WOLCOTT

(b. 1620, d. 1698)—
emigrated to New England 1639,
of Windsor, afterwards of
Saybrook and Lyme, Conn.

THOMAS

all three brothers of Kenil

by 1st mar.

FRANCIS, of Norwich, Conn.
m.

GEORGE
m.

JOHN

SARAH

JOHN

1st MARY BEMIS
2d BATHSHEBA

DEBORAH
m. SAMUEL BUELL
great-grandparents in fourth
degree of
HON. W. H. BUELL

JOSEPH +
m.

ELIZ

m. 1st JO
2d PE
3d MA

by 1st mar. by 2d mar.

sons and daus.
of whom JOHN
m.

DANIEL +
m.

SAMUEL +
m.

MATTHEW
m.

by 1st mar. by 2d mar.
ELIZABETH. JOHN. PETER

SAMUEL +
m.

of whom MARGARET
m. THOMAS BUCKINGHAM

FRANCIS
m.

ISAAC
m.

ISAAC
m.

ABIEL
m.

ISAAC
m.

ORIGEN
m.

a dau.
m. BUELL
HON. WILLIAM H. BUELL

JOSEPH
m.

MARY
m. ELIHU CHADUCEY

MATTHEW
m.

DR. ELIHU
m. MARY WOLCOTT

Gov. Matthew
m. URSULA WOLCOTT
(see Part II).

GEN. SAMUEL HOLDEN LYDIA
m. MOSES GR

Prof. Simon, H. C. +

JOSEPH S. WM. D. + JUDGE S. ORIGEN

PART II.

Gov. Matthew Griswold
m. URSULA WOLCOTT

DEA. JOHN
m. SARAH JOHNSON

Judge Matthew
m. LYDIA ELY
s. p.

Gov. Roger
m. FANNY ROGERS

URSULA
d. inf.

HANNAH
d. child

MARIAN
m. 1st CHARLES C. CHANE
2d EBENEZER LANE
3d JUSTIN ELY

DIODATE JOHNSON
m. SARAH COLT
s. p.

URSULA
m. RICHARD McCURDY

ELIZABETH
m. JACOB B. GURLEY

SARAH
m. JOHN LION GARDINER

JOHN
m. 1st ELIZABETH M. HUNTINGTON
2d LOUISA WILSON
s. p.

MARY ANN
m. LEVI H. CLARK
CHARLES CH
his third

Judge Charles Johnson
m. SARAH A. LORD

ROBERT H.
m. GERTRUDE M. LEE

ALEXANDER L.
m. JOSEPHINE LORD

SARAH A. +
m. STEPHEN J. LORD

SARAH +
m. DAVID THOMPSON

ELIZABETH BRAINARD
m. HUSHNELL WHITE

ELIZABETH DIODATE
m. JUDGE WM. G. LANE
her second cousin

EVELYN
m. E. E. SALISBURY

1. GERTRUDE M.
2. THEODORE F.
3. RICHARD A.
4. SARAH L.
5. ROBERTA W.

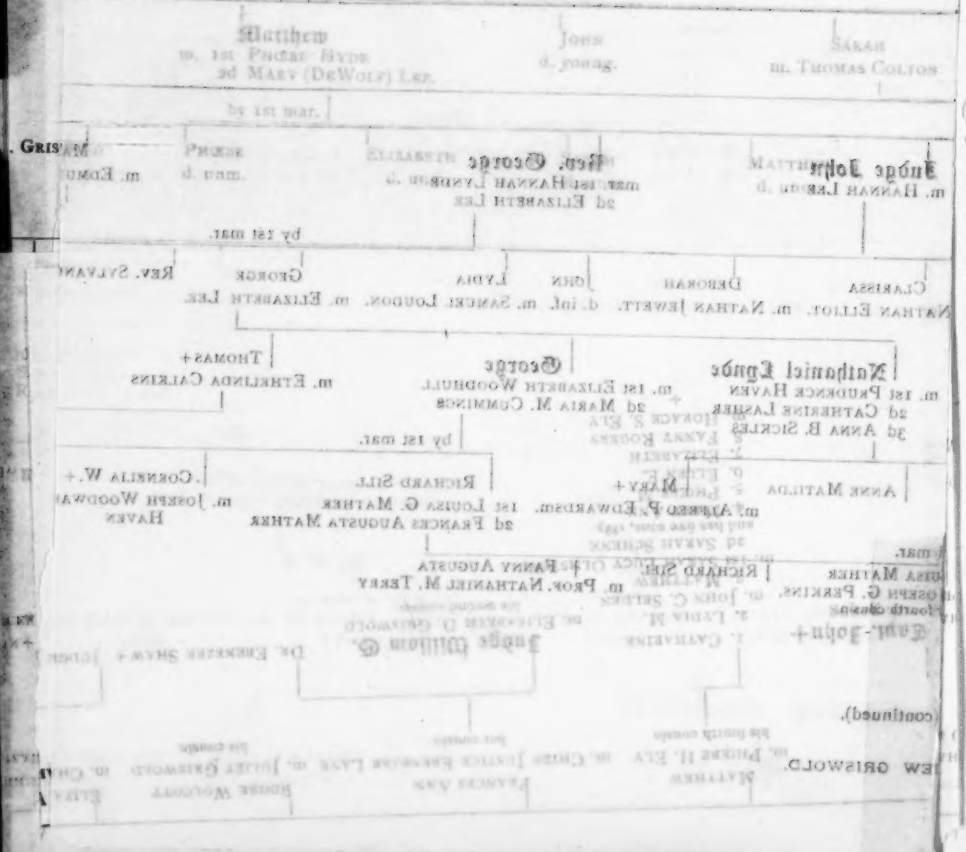
1. ALICE.
2. GERTRUDE G.

1. ROBERT McC.
2. JOHN McC.
3. GERTRUDE McC.

1. SARAH
m. DAVID L. GARDINER
7. FREDERICK D.
+

Pedigree Chart

+ This mark indicates deceased



"We have lately had a flood of political wickedness poured in upon us from Virginia. But I am perfectly confident that Connecticut has too much sense & integrity to become the contemptible tool of democratic cunning.

"I am, Sir, your friend &c.,

Elias Perkins."

"New London, Jan^y 28th, 1801.

"Dear Sir,

"Since it has been ascertained that no Federal President has been chosen, there seems to be, so far as my observation has extended, an almost perfect apathy on the subject of politics. The Democrats seem in a state of apprehension at their own success. They dread the idea of responsibility. Not having it in their power to grumble, it has given time for those that *can* reflect, and, having something to loose by a convulsion, to view with alarm the dangers that may arise from the ferment which they have occasioned. They dare not complain, but are wofully agitated lest Con^l Burr should supplant their favorite; but it is replied by the old school that 73, according to the most approved rules of arithmetic, is equal to 73; and that, according to republican principles, there is no way of ascertaining what is right and wrong but by the votes of the *sovereign People*.

"The most reflecting part of our State, and, I believe, all that would prefer a federal President to Mr. Jefferson, expect that the federal States will vote for Mr. Burr. I am decidedly of that opinion, and, admitting the Candidates to be equal in point of integrity, I believe that some very good reasons may be offered in favour of Mr. Burr which will not apply to Mr. Jefferson.

"Mr. Burr is from a State which is under a very powerful commercial influence; his connexion and speculations are subject to the same influence. It is, I believe, an undeniable fact, there is very little Jeffersonian theory and republican fanaticism in either of the leading parties of the State of New York. It is, I believe, wholly a contention for power that has induced certain Chiefs to join the opposition. If Mr. Burr is supported by the federalists, it may be an additional inducement for him to pursue federal measures, and probably unite the powerful State of New York in the New England politics. I can not in conscience express any regret that Mr. Adams is not chosen—it would be an up-hill business to support his administration.

"Whatever course you shall take, it will be presumed that you have acted from the best motive, and a full and adequate investigation of the subject. This will doubtless be the sentiment of Connecticut. We shall be anxious to hear the event; pray let us know as soon as it is determined. . . .

"I am, dear Sir, your friend & Humble Servant,

E. Perkins."

"Philad. 3 Nov. 1801.

"My dear Sir,

. . . . "But what have we to say but to lament the downfall of federalism, and the triumph of democracy—a triumph more compleat than its most sanguine partisans dared to hope for. In this State more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the lower house, and a great majority of the Senate, are of the Party. Delaware has one of the same stamp for Governor, and Bloomfield reigns in New Jersey. Our City Elections were carried against us by a very small majority, and by a manœuvre that we hope will not again succeed.

"Do you keep stedfast in the faith, or do you, like the Eastern inhabitants of another region, worship the rising sun? The line of conduct which the president in his answer to the Merchants of New Haven professes his intention to pursue, and the character which he attaches to the Persons turned & to be turned out,* must, I should think, make considerable impression on the Public mind, and the Practice itself will have a most pernicious effect.

"We must wait for the next meeting of Congress, to be made acquainted with the system intended to be pursued; a majority of both houses will support the present Administration, and I cannot suppose that the talents of our federal Gentlemen, however exerted, can stem the torrent; so that none of their schemes will be abandoned from an apprehension of their being rejected. After the next apportionment of the representation, the Eastern States, unless firmly united, must lose their weight in the balance. The great increase of population, altho' a subject of great exultation to many, ought, in my mind, to excite serious apprehensions—a new Interest will soon predominate, and will not that Interest clash with our own in some essential points, and be indifferent to many others which we esteem of the greatest importance?

"You see that, tho' no longer a public servant, yet, like many other private Men, the weight of public affairs still lay heavy on my shoulders, and that, not content with bearing my share of present Evils, I am looking into futurity for an addition to the burthen.

. . . .

"Sincerely Yours,

"Rob. Walsh."

"Norwich, 21 Feb^y 1802.

"My dear Sir,

. . . . "I regret extremely to find the Judiciary system destroyed, fearing and believing it done with evident marks of contempt for the Government of our country—this great barrier being removed, there is no restraint to the passions of the now governing characters in Congress; and, when publick opinion, or rather the voice of the mob, becomes the law of our country, anarchy & confusion must follow; and I believe the supporters of that sentiment will, at some future day, when too late, mourn in bitterness the hour they promoted it, to the destruction of order. I have my fears that confusion is fast ripening to the state it was in in France, not that I expect a Guillotine, but a separation of the Union, a rising of servants against masters, & Virginia begging aid of the Northern States.

"By reports of the debates, or rather the rapid passage of every favorite measure of the Virginia Interest, it appears there is no use in our northern federal members remaining there—would it not be as well for you all to return home, and leave them to themselves? I think it probable some might feel the force of Mr. Morris's observation, and want the protecting force of the Judiciary to save them; it is said here that your business in the House of Representatives is finished to your hands before it comes into the house, and without the knowledge of about $\frac{1}{3}$ of its members—if so, *that* one third can only experience a mortification by being present at the passage of the business; if they have fortitude enough to bear it, and to stand ready to defend their own principles, much is due to them. . . .

* Alluding to the removal of Elizur Goodrich from the office of Collector of the Port of New Haven.

"I believe it is well known to you that the French spoliations were more severely felt by the commercial interest of this town & vicinity, in proportion to our members and capital, than almost any town or place that is within my knowledge, except Alexandria; a great proportion of our traders have been totally ruined, and others are great sufferers. We are now preparing a memorial to Congress, praying compensation for the claims we had against the French Government, which for some purpose have been bartered by our Government, and left us no other hope but in the justice of the Government. . . . Should justice be refused, I fear ruin will be attached to many, and bye and bye the commercial interest will be less tenacious of their sacred regard to the revenue. . . . We hope for the best, but, if driven to a pointed enmity to the revenue-system, it appears to me they could as effectually ruin it as the Virginia interest have ruined the Judiciary, not by a majority of only one, but by a unanimous vote. I feel a pride in the belief that our Connecticut Members of both Houses know the true interest of their country, and that it has a warm place in their hearts, which principle, united with their desire of justice, will secure them to us as advocates in this cause. . . .

"Y^r friend & serv^t,

"J. Howland.

"Hon^{ble} Roger Griswold Esq."

"Knoxville, Dec. 26th, 1803.

"Sir,

"The Exertions you have made to stem the torrent of Democratic Delusion, and to support the constitution of our country against the insidious attacks of the Demagogues who now rule, have induced me to address you on a subject which, if my opinions are correct, every Friend to the Constitution is interested in. I allude to the late requisition of the militia of this State by the General Government. Altho' we can not here obtain the Documents relative to this business, yet I believe no doubt can exist but that they were called on to assist in taking possession of Louisiana. The requisition has subjected a number of the People of this State to great inconvenience in hiring substitutes, and a large proportion of those who have been drafted have been fined for refusing to muster in. I see no Power given to the General Government by the Constitution to require the services of the Militia on such occasions, or to march them out of the United States; and, believing that the measure was illegal, I was determined not to submit to it, and have been fined 25 Dolls., as have also a number of the Inhabitants of this County; tho' I do not regard the sum, yet, as I am unwilling to support the present Administration further than my Duty as a citizen requires, I feel an Inclination that this business should be examined into. If you are of opinion, with me, that the requisition was unconstitutional, I hope you will endeavour to procure an investigation. If it has no other Effect, it will contribute to open the Eyes of the People of the Western Country, and discover what reliance can be placed on the hypocritical professions of attachment to the Constitution which the ruling Party are and have been so much in the Habit of making. The signatures of a large proportion of the People can easily be obtained to a remonstrance, if necessary. Trusting you will excuse the Liberty I have taken, I remain with sentiments of the Highest Esteem & Respect,

"Your Most Ob^t Serv^t,

"Tho: Emmerson."

"Hartford, 25 July, 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"I left home with an intention of visiting the seaboard, pursuant to an arrangement partially made when I took my leave of you at this place. Not having learned whether the orders you issued to the Major Gen^l. on the coast were executed, hearing nothing from you or our friends who accompanied you, and receiving intelligence that a British fleet had come into our waters, I felt it a duty to visit the region in and about *Lyme* at least, for the purpose of ascertaining the condition and the feelings of the good people in that quarter. Just as I was taking my departure, a letter was received from the Secretary of War, in answer to the despatch I forwarded immediately on my return from the session of the council. Copies of both are enclosed. Of the Secretary's letter I shall say nothing—it will speak abundantly for itself. My letter to him followed very closely the reasoning, and indeed the language, of the council. Their result having met your approbation, I did not feel myself at liberty to depart essentially from it. You will perceive, my dear Sir, the evident propriety that the reply to the Secretary should, if possible, proceed from your hand. Aside from this consideration which is in some degree personal, a new question arises out of the *declaration* of the President 'that the United States are in imminent danger of invasion,' and one perhaps which the council did not particularly consider. Altho' there is no difficulty in resisting this renewed requisition, on the ground that our second objection remains in full force, still I see not but the question above mentioned must be met.

"Mr. Dwight has just returned, and informs me you are on your way to Connecticut. I despatch an express, not for the purpose of hastening your journey, which for the sake of your health I beg you not to do, but to learn your wishes as to the course to be pursued. Shall the council be convened? This measure I had resolved to take by the advice of our friends here, and should have issued *letters missive* on Monday, if no intelligence had been received from you.

"Whatever directions you may please to forward shall be scrupulously obeyed. . . .

"I am, my dear Sir, in haste, but most sincerely & affectionately yours,

"J. C. Smith.

"His Excellency Governor Griswold."

The foregoing letter from Lieut.-Gov. John Cotton Smith is a valuable missing link in the correspondence between State-authorities and the General Government, on the subject of Secretary of War Dearborn's requisition for troops of the militia of Connecticut, to be ordered into the service of the United States, on the breaking out of the War of 1812. It does not appear among the letters and other documents, relating to this subject, published by Dwight in his *History of the Hartford Convention*. But more important and interesting, in the same connection, is the following draft of a letter written by Gov. Griswold, on the 4th of Aug., 1812, to Secretary Dearborn, which, it is believed, has never appeared in print, and was, perhaps, never sent. Being found among the family-papers, it is put on record here as an additional tribute to his memory. The date of the letter is the same as that of the meeting of the General Assembly of Con-

necticut, fully referred to by Dwight, in which Gov. Griswold's conduct in this affair was entirely approved.*

"Hartford, Aug. 4th, 1812.

"Sir,

"His Honour Gov. Smith has put into my hands your letter of the 14th of July, and it is with surprise I notice the construction you have put on my letter of the 17th of June. The unusual and exceptionable terms, also, in which your letter is expressed, have not escaped notice; I shall not, however, descend to any comment upon its particular expressions, but perform my duty to the General Gov't in giving the explanation which appears proper.

"When you communicated the request of the President, that any future requisition from General Dearborn for a part of the drafted militia might be complied with, it was uncertain whether such requirement would be made, or, if made, under what circumstances it might take place. Confident, however, that the President would authorize no requisition which was not strictly constitutional, and particularly that the order would not exceed the conditions of the Act of the 10th of April to which you had referred, I felt no hesitation in giving a general assurance that such requisition as the President might make through General Dearborn would be complied with. I then thought, as I do still, that decency and a due respect to the first Magistrate of the Union, required that my assurance should be general, and that no expression should be used which carried with it a suspicion that the President might transgress the Constitution in the direction he might give. I also expected that this early and general assurance would be considered as evidence of a disposition which has been uniformly felt in this State to execute every constitutional requisition from the general gov't. In whatever light, however, my expressions may have been viewed, I trust I shall be now understood, when I assure you that I did not intend, or expect to be understood, by the general language of my letter, or any expression it contained, to engage that I would execute any order which I thought, on consideration, to be repugnant to the Constitution, from whatever authority it might emanate. The light in which I have viewed the requisition now made through General Dearborn, has been already communicated by Gov. Smith; and it is only proper to add that my opinion of its unconstitutionality remains unchanged, and is happily confirmed by the unanimous opinion of the Council of this State.

"The new light in which you have presented the subject in your letter to Gov. Smith has received every attention, but cannot, in my judgment, change the opinion already formed. The war which has commenced, and the cruising of a hostile fleet on our coast, is not invasion, and the declaration of the President, that there is imminent danger of invasion, is evidently a consequence drawn from the facts now disclosed, and, I am compelled to say, is not, in my opinion, warranted by those facts. If such consequence were admitted to result from a state of war, and from the facts now mentioned, and which always must attend a war with an European power, it would follow that every war of that character would throw the militia into the hands of the National Gov't, and strip the States of the important right reserved to them. But it is proper for me further to observe that I have found difficulty in fixing in my own mind the meaning of the words *imminent danger of invasion*, used by Congress in the Act of the 28th of Feb^y 1805, and now repeated in your letter, as no such expression is contained in that part of the Constitution which author-

* See History of the Hartford Convention . . . By Theodore Dwight . . . New York & Boston, 1833, pp. 237-67.

izes the President to call the militia into service. Presuming, however, that some definite meaning, thought consistent with the Constitution, was at the time annexed to the expression, I have rather inferred that the Legislature must have intended only to include an extreme case, when an enemy had not passed the line of the State, but was evidently advancing in force to invade our country. Such a case would undoubtedly come within the spirit of the Constitution, although it might not be included in its literal expression. But whether the Congress of 1805 was justified in the expression, or not, is unimportant, there being no difficulty in the present case, as none of the facts disclosed permit anything more than slight and remote danger of invasion, which the Constitution could not contemplate, and which might exist even in time of peace.

"Whilst I regret this difference of opinion, upon a question of serious importance, I cannot doubt that the President will perceive that a sense of duty leaves no other course to pursue, and that the general government will speedily provide the troops deemed necessary for the defence of the coast of this State.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

"Cambridge, 3 Sept., 1812.

"Dear Sir,

"It is with great concern that we find your health so much impaired, especially at this perilous crisis. We do hope, however, that your long journey and the mineral waters, with the blessing of Heaven, will restore it. Could your Excellency visit Boston during the autumn, would not the journey be salutary to yourself and to our sickly Commonwealth? I am sure it would give the highest pleasure to our statesmen in Boston, and have no doubt it would be of good political effect. Should you do us this honour, any attentions of mine that might contribute towards the objects of your visit would be at your command; for, while your public services entitle you to such attentions from every citizen, they are peculiarly due to you from one who cherishes a very grateful sense of your early patronage, and who is,

"With great respect & regard,

"Your Excellency's humble servant

"A. Holmes.

"His Excellency Gov. Griswold."

Years before this, in the midst of Mr. Griswold's greatest activity, a disease of the heart had suddenly manifested itself; but, though he was thenceforth hopeless of cure, his activity never ceased. The letter last quoted—written by Rev. Dr. Abiel Holmes, author of "American Annals," and father of our poet Oliver Wendell Holmes, is only one of many proofs of a really tender solicitude manifested by the public as Mr. Griswold's health failed more and more. When death had come, a little over a month after the date of this letter, the common admiration and mourning found expression upon his tombstone, in the burial-ground of the family overlooking Blackhall River, in an epitaph by which it is still echoed, and will be transmitted to later generations:

"This monument is erected to the memory of his Excellency Roger Griswold, LL.D.,

late Governour of this State. He was born at Lyme, May 25th, 1762; and died at Norwich, Oct. 25th, 1812.

"He was the son of his Excellency Matthew Griswold, who had been Chief Justice of the Sup^r Court. His mother was daughter of Roger Wolcott, Esq., of Windsor, who was for many years Governour of this State.

"Gov. Griswold graduated at Yale College in 1780, and in 1785 entered upon the profession of law. At the age of 34 he was elected into the Congress of the United States. In 1807 he was appointed a Judge of the Sup^r Court, in 1809 Lieut. Governour, and in 1811 was elected Governour; upon all these eminent stations he conferred dignity and honour.

"Not less conspicuous by honorable parentage and elevated rank in society than by personal merit, talents and virtue.

"He was respected at the University as an elegant and classical scholar; quick discernment, sound reasoning, legal science and manly eloquence raised him to the first eminence at the bar.

"Distinguished in the National Councils among the illustrious Statesmen of the age. Revered for his inflexible integrity and pre-eminent talents, his political course was highly honorable.

"His friends viewed him with virtuous pride. His native State with honest triumph. His fame and honors were the just rewards of noble actions, and of a life devoted to his Country.

"He was endeared to his family by fidelity and affection, to his neighbours by frankness and benevolence. His memory is embalmed in the hearts of surviving relatives, and of a grateful people.

"When this monument shall have decayed, his name shall be enrolled with honor among the great, the wise and the good."

Governor Roger Griswold married, Oct. 27, 1788, Fanny daughter of Col. Zabdiel Rogers, a prominent Revolutionary patriot and officer, of Norwich, Conn., by his first wife, Elizabeth Tracy, descended from Mabel Harlakenden, whose ancestry, as is well known, has been traced back, through several English sovereigns, to Alfred the Great and Charlemagne.* Mrs. Roger Griswold survived her husband, and died Dec. 26th, 1863, at the age of ninety-six years. Their children were:

(1.) *Augustus Henry* (b. 1789); a shipmaster; who married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Lansdale of Boxhill, Co. Sussex, England, and had by her two sons and a daughter. He was a man of brilliant natural parts, inheriting much of his father's genius. His eldest son is Roger Griswold, now of Lyme, who married Julia A. daughter of Joshua Wells of East Windsor, Conn., and has two sons and a daughter.

(2.) *Charles* (b. 1791); graduated at Yale College in 1808; a lawyer, but commonly distinguished as Col. Charles Griswold; Deacon of the First Church of Lyme from 1829; and a man active in all religious and other

* Walworth's Hyde Geneal., ut supra, ii. 1161-79, Appendices A & B.

public enterprises. The present Congregational church-edifice at Lyme, built in 1817, indirectly after a model existing in London, is a monument to his taste and public spirit. He married Ellen Elizabeth daughter of Judge Elias Perkins of New London, Conn., by his wife, Lucretia Shaw Woodbridge, and had several children. A daughter, Fanny Rogers, married: 1st. Shubal F. Bartlett of East Windsor, Conn., and, 2d. Daniel Bartlett, a brother of her first husband; and is now living at East Windsor: a son of hers is Charles Griswold Bartlett, now the Principal of a very successful family-school for boys at Lyme. Two of the sons of Col. Charles Griswold are James Griswold, Esq., graduated at Yale College in 1848, a lawyer of Lyme; and Charles Henry, a farmer of the same place, whose wife, Eva Morley, by birth is a descendant of Rev. Sylvanus Griswold of the fourth generation of our Griswold family of New England, above mentioned (see p. 149). Another son was John, graduated at Yale College in 1857, a gallant Captain of Volunteers in the late civil war, killed in the battle of Antietam.

(3.) *Matthew* (b. 1792); who married Phœbe Hubbard daughter of Col. Seth Ely, and settled as a farmer on the ancestral estate of Blackhall, in a house built by his father; where he lived to his eighty-eighth year, dying in 1880; and left his widow with several unmarried daughters. To these ladies I am chiefly indebted for the loan of family-papers used in this memorial. His only son, Matthew, is now of Erie, Pa., and has five sons, by two marriages. One daughter, Lydia Maria, married John C. Selden of Erie, Pa.; and another, Fanny Rogers, married Horace S. Ely of New York City.

(4.) *Frances Ann* (b. 1795); who married her first cousin, Judge Ebenezer Lane (see below), of Sandusky, Ohio, graduated at Harvard College in 1811, made LL.D. there in 1880, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Ohio, a learned lawyer and scholar; and had a son, William Griswold Lane, the accomplished and amiable Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the Fourth Judicial District of Ohio, who was born in 1824, graduated at Yale College in 1843, and died in 1877. William Griswold Lane married his cousin Elizabeth Diodate Griswold, a descendant of our first Matthew Griswold, on her father's side, through a brother of her husband's grandfather, Gov. Roger Griswold (see below), and, on her mother's side, through Rev. George Griswold of Giant's Neck (see p. 149).

(5.) *Roger Wolcott* (b. 1797); graduated at Yale College in 1818; a lawyer; who married his cousin Juliet, daughter of Thomas Griswold, niece of the New York merchants Nathaniel Lynde and George Griswold above mentioned; settled at Ashtabula, Ohio; had sons and daughters; and died in 1878.

(6.) *Eliza Woodbridge* (b. 1799); who married Charles Leicester Boalt of Norwalk, Ohio, a lawyer of high position; had several sons and two daughters; and died in 1878. One of the sons was John Henry, Judge of Common Pleas in Nevada, now of San Francisco, Cal. One of the daughters, Frances Griswold Lane, is now the wife of Jay Osborne Moss, a wealthy financier of Sandusky, Ohio.

(7.) *Marian* (b. 1801); who married Thomas Shaw Perkins, a lawyer, son of Judge Elias Perkins of New London, Conn.; and had eleven children. A daughter, Cornelia Leonard, was the wife of David Hubbard Nevins of New York, late of Waterford, Conn. Roger Griswold, one of Mrs. Perkins's sons, was a physician of New York, and afterwards lived on a plantation near Columbia, S. C., belonging to the family of his wife, a Perkins cousin of his. She survived him, without children, and is now living on an ancestral estate of her own in South Carolina. Another son of Mrs. Perkins is Gen. Joseph Griswold Perkins of Lyme, brevetted as General for services in the late civil war, whose wife is of Griswold descent through the Giant's Neck branch (see pp. 149-50). A third son is Professor Maurice Perkins, professor of chemistry in Union College. The only surviving daughter is Lucretia Shaw Woodbridge, a lady of unusual acquisitions and varied accomplishments, which she has applied in private teaching.

(8.) *William Frederick* (b. 1804); a captain in the China trade; who married Sarah daughter of William Noyes of Lyme; had two sons and two daughters; and died in 1851. He improved the leisure of his long voyages for much study and reading, by which he became a man of high culture.

(9.) *Robert Harper* (b. 1806); a shipmaster; who married Helen daughter of Edward Powers of Guilford, Conn., by whom he had three daughters and one son, the latter not now living. He was a favorite commander of packet-ships of the John Griswold Line, sailing between New York and London, a man of much reading, and, in his prime, of elegant manners and great personal beauty. He died in Lyme in 1882, after years of lingering infirmity and pain. His daughters, with their mother, now conduct a family-school for young ladies in their father's fine old house in Lyme, devoted more especially to instruction in the elegant branches, in which they are proficient.

(10.) *James*, who died in infancy.

We now return to follow out the succession of the children of Gov. Matthew and Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold:

4. *Ursula*, b. 1744; who died an infant

5. *Hannah*, b. 1746; who died in childhood.

6. *Marian*, born Apr. 17, 1750; a very handsome woman; who married, first, Sep. 29, 1769, Charles Church Chandler of Woodstock, Conn., an eminent lawyer, "frequently a member of the State Legislature, and was elected to the Continental Congress"*—who died in 1787—by whom she had several children. One of her daughters by this first marriage, Mary Ann, married James Lanman of Norwich, Conn., United States Senator and Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, and had, with many other children, Joanna Boylston, who was the first wife of the late Hon. Lafayette Sabin Foster of Norwich, at one time acting Vice-President of the United States. Marian (Griswold) Chandler married, secondly, Captain Ebenezer Lane of Northampton, Mass., and had by him one child, Judge Ebenezer Lane (b. 1793), above mentioned. After the death of Capt. Lane in 1808, his widow married, thirdly, Justin Ely Esq. of West Springfield, Mass., whom she survived, without children by him, and herself died June 17, 1829. An obituary of Mrs. Marian (Griswold) Chandler-Lane-Ely, published at the time of her death, says of her:

"She was a woman of strong and vigorous intellectual powers. The earlier part of her life had been spent at a time when female education was considered (comparatively speaking) as of little or no consequence: of course, her advantages for mental improvement were not like those enjoyed by young ladies of the present day. Yet, by the judicious instructions of an estimable mother, subsequent reading, and an extensive observation of men and things, combined with a very retentive memory, her mind had been stored with such a fund of general information as rendered her not only a very agreeable, but a very useful companion—one whose society was courted by people of all ages. Remarkably active in her habits, and a great economist of time, she was ever, during the successive years of a protracted life, diligently employed in something to benefit herself or others, regarding it as an imperative duty to consecrate every moment, and every faculty she possessed, to some useful employment. Entitled by birth and family-connections (numbering among her nearest relatives five Governors, and many men of acknowledged talents, occupying the highest offices in the State) to an elevated rank in society, and placed by three successive marriages in a commanding sphere in life, she never cherished any of those contracted feelings of self-importance which too often characterize people of wealth and influence; but ever held up the idea and acted upon the principle, that intrinsic personal merit was all that could entitle a person to respect and esteem; and under the influence of this principle her affable and conciliating manners endeared her to all classes of her fellow-creatures with whom she was in any degree connected. She had lived through a long period of time, and been deeply interested in many eventful scenes, but amid them all had been heard to exclaim, 'It is the Lord, let Him do as seemeth Him good.' . . . We trust that she died in the faith of the Gospel. . . ."

* Hyde Genealogy, ut supra, ii. 892.

† For further notices of Mrs. Marian (Griswold) Chandler-Lane-Ely, and of her several husbands, see *The Chandler Family* . . . collected by George Chandler . . . Worcester, 1883, pp. 131, 279-82. In this book it is said that, "when first asked to become Mrs. Ely, her grief and surprise were manifested in her reply: 'Oh! I can't think of burying another husband'!"

7. *Ursula*, born Apr. 13, 1754, who inherited the Wolcott beauty; married, Nov. 22, 1777, her cousin Lynde McCurdy of Norwich, Conn.; had two sons and one daughter; and died Nov. 27, 1781. From her descends Hon. John W. Allen of Cleveland, Ohio (her grandson), formerly State Senator and Member of Congress, whose sister Ursula McCurdy is the widow of the late Judge Sherlock J. Andrews of Cleveland.

JOHN, the eldest child of Gov. Matthew and Ursula (Wolcott) Griswold, was born April 20, 1752; was deacon of the First Church of Lyme from 1797; married Nov. 5, 1772, Sarah daughter of Rev. Stephen Johnson of Lyme, by Elizabeth daughter of William Diodate of New Haven, Conn. (of the ancient and highly distinguished Diodati family of Lucca in Italy).^{*} He was offered public offices of distinction, but preferred to remain in private life; and died Nov. 22, 1812. Their epitaphs in the Duck River Burying-Ground at Lyme are as follows:

"Deacon John Griswold was born at Lyme the 20th day of April, 1752, and died on the 22d day of November, 1812. He was the eldest son of the first Governor Griswold, and Brother of the second. As a friend & neighbor he was hospitable and generous, honest and honorable as a man, and in his faith and life exemplary as a Christian. To tell those who knew him the place where he was buried, and to offer his character for imitation to those who knew him not, this stone to his memory is erected."

"Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Sarah Griswold, the amiable consort of Deacon John Griswold, who died Jan'y 4th, 1802, aged 53 years, 10 mos. and 26 days.

"Sleep on dear friend till the last morn shall come,
When Christ shall summon all his children home.
Then may we meet in realms of joy above,
And join in bonds of everlasting love."

A funeral sermon preached on the death of Mrs. Sarah (Johnson) Griswold, by Rev. William Lyman of East Haddam, Conn., says: "She was a pattern of humility, gentleness, patience, tenderness and affection."

Their children were:

(1.) *Diodate Johnson*, born Dec. 16, 1773; graduated at Yale College in 1793; who married Sarah daughter of Benjamin Colt of Hadley, Mass.; and died Mar. 17, 1850, s. p.

^{*} See Mr. William Diodate (of New Haven from 1717 to 1751) and his Italian Ancestry, in New Engl. Hist. and Geneal. Register. Boston, 1881, xxxv. 167-81.

(2.) *URSULA* (see below);

(3.) *Elizabeth*, born Oct. 15, 1778; who married, Mar. 28, 1802, Jacob Barker Gurley of New London, Conn., graduated at Dartmouth College in 1793, a lawyer; and died, a widow, June 22, 1857, having had ten children, all of whom except one she survived.

"She bore her great griefs with an almost stoical composure, and to her last days met her friends with a calm and cheerful mien."

(4.) *Sarah*, born Aug. 12, 1781; who married, Mar. 4, 1803, John Lyon Gardiner, Esq., the seventh proprietor of the Manor of Gardiner's Island, N. Y., by whom she had five children; and died Feb. 10, 1863. One of her children, Sarah Diodate, is now the widow of the late David Thompson of New York, whose daughter Sarah Gardiner is the wife of David L. Gardiner of New Haven, Conn. Her eldest son David J. was the last proprietor who received the island by entail; he was succeeded by his brother, John Griswold Gardiner; and he by his brother the late Samuel Buell Gardiner, the tenth proprietor of the manor.

"Mrs. Gardiner was a lady of much strength of mind and dignity of character. During a long widowhood she had the management of a large estate, and administered its hospitalities as a true 'lady of the manor.'"

(5.) *John*, born Aug. 14, 1783; an affluent shipping merchant of New York, head of the famous old line of London packet-ships which bore his name; who married, first, May 16, 1814, Elizabeth Mary daughter of General Zachariah Huntington of Norwich, Conn.; and secondly, in 1826, Louisa Wilson of Newark, N. J., an English lady (who survived him); and died Aug. 4, 1856, s. p.

In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Mary (Huntington) Griswold the following lines were written by Mrs. Sigourney:

"She was as a rose
Gathered in loveliness 'mid perfumed flowers,
And warbling birds of love, yet drooping still
For the pure breath of that celestial clime
Where summer hath no cloud. She with firm hand
Grasped the strong hope of everlasting life,
And then, in trembling yet confiding trust,
Did dare the waves of Death's tempestuous flood."*

(6.) *Mary Ann*, born Feb. 25, 1786; who married, Nov. 6, 1809, Levi H. Clark of Middletown, Conn., a lawyer; and died Jan. 31, 1812. Mrs. Elizabeth Brainard (Clark) White, wife of Bushnell White Esq. of Cleveland, Ohio, is her daughter.

* Hyde Genealogy, ut supra, ii. 885.

(7.) *Charles Chandler*, born Nov. 9, 1787; who married, July 10, 1822, his cousin Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Griswold of the Giant's Neck branch (see above), by whom he had, with other children, Elizabeth Diodate, who married Judge William Griswold Lane, and Sarah Johnson, who married Lorillard Spencer (see p. 150); and died Jan. 27, 1869, leaving a widow who still survives in Lyme.

URSULA, second child and eldest daughter of Deacon John and Sarah (Johnson) Griswold, was born Dec. 2, 1775; married, Sept. 10, 1794, her third cousin Richard McCurdy; and died May 25, 1811.

"Mrs. McCurdy was of a warm and enthusiastic nature, and perhaps the Italian (Diodati) blood in the family-veins most fully expressed itself in her. She was affectionate, overflowing with kind words and deeds, devoted to her husband and children, and above all a devout Christian, leaving behind her, on her death at the early age of thirty-five, many religious writings."

Rev. F. W. Hotchkiss of Saybrook, Conn., said of her, in a funeral sermon: "As a daughter, sister, mother and wife she was a worthy descendant of an illustrious line of ancestors, and justly viewed as a woman of exalted spirit. . . ."

One of their children is Judge Charles Johnson McCurdy of Lyme, who, having served his country in various conspicuous and important positions at home, and as representative of the United States in Austria, retired from the bench of the Supreme Court of Connecticut in 1867, on reaching the constitutional limit of age; but still retains much of the sprightliness and vigor of youthful years, to the delight and profit of all who come into the sunny atmosphere of his society. His only child, Evelyn, is the wife of the author of this paper. Another child of Richard and Ursula (Griswold) McCurdy was the late Robert Henry McCurdy of New York, a leading merchant and public-spirited citizen, one of the first and most influential movers in support of the Government in the late war; whose eldest son is Theodore Frelinghuysen McCurdy of Norwich, Conn., and second son, Richard Aldrich McCurdy, Vice-President of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York. Mr. Robert Henry McCurdy had three daughters: the eldest of whom, Gertrude Mercer, is the wife of Hon. Gardiner Greene Hubbard of Washington, D. C., and mother of Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell; and the two others, Sarah Lord and Roberta Wolcott, are married, respectively, to Dr. Elias Joseph Marsh of Paterson, N. J., and Charles Mercer Marsh Esq. of New York. The fifth son of Richard and

Ursula (Griswold) McCurdy is Alexander Lynde McCurdy, now living, with two daughters, in Santa Barbara, California. The youngest child of the Griswold-McCurdy marriage was the late Mrs. Sarah Ann, widow of Stephen Johnson Lord of Lyme. She was admired in her youth for her great beauty, and in later years for the refinement, dignity and symmetry of her character. Two sons, now of Kansas City, Mo., survive her; and a daughter, the wife of Dr. Edward Dorr Griffin of Lyme, who is himself, also, a Griswold by descent, through the eminent lawyer George Griffin of New York, above mentioned.

Here the writer finishes his sketch of the history of the descendants of the first Matthew Griswold, covering a period of nearly two hundred and fifty years. They have not been very numerous, and there have never been many sons of the name. It is the record of a family that has been unusually free from the vicissitudes which are so apt, in the course of many generations of a family, to occur to lower the social standing of some of its persons or branches. It has numbered among its members by blood and marriage, as we have seen, many individuals of distinction, while, with only very few exceptions, all have been highly respectable in position and worthy in character.

Edwin Elbridge Salisbury

THE UTAH EXPEDITION

When the disciples of Joseph Smith, the followers of Brigham Young, after much wandering, finally pitched their tents in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, they imagined themselves so far removed from civilization that they could thenceforth practice the peculiar tenets of their faith without molestation by the rest of mankind.

The country they occupied was almost an unknown region, trodden only by savage tribes, government exploring parties, and a few restless white men who subsisted by hunting and trading with the Indians—and they readily found timber for their dwellings and pasturage for their cattle. The soil when irrigated by the mountain streams produced abundant crops. They raised and manufactured nearly everything they needed, and virtually established a little world of their own. The war with Mexico, by which the United States acquired possession of California, opened the tide of emigration directly through the Salt Lake valley. The Territory of Utah was organized and Brigham Young appointed the first Governor. Complaints were soon heard of outrages committed by the band of Danites, an organization of Mormons, commanded by one Porter Rockwell, acting under the authority and protected by the leaders of the Mormon church. Lieut. John W. Gunnison, an officer of the United States Army, while engaged in making a topographical survey of the Territory, was attacked and murdered in his camp at night. A large party of emigrants from the State of Arkansas was attacked at Mountain Meadow, and the whole party, with the exception of half a dozen young children, ruthlessly slaughtered and their bones left to bleach on the prairie. These were afterward collected and buried by officers of our Army. The writer has held in his hands long tresses of dark and blonde hair of some of the tender victims of this massacre. The Indians, who have sins enough of their own to answer for, were at first charged with these outrages, but it was subsequently proved to have been the work of white savages disguised as Indians. The little ones spared at Mountain Meadow were carried to the nearest Mormon settlement. They were supposed to be too young to observe and remember, but they afterward told how they had seen these white men take off their disguises and wash the war paint from their faces. It also became known that in several instances seceding Mormons who attempted to escape from the country, were pursued and murdered before

they could reach the borders of the Territory. The government of the United States was defied and the laws trampled under foot. The reign of the Mormon "Prophet, Priest and King" was absolute, and his will was superior to all law, human or divine.

In 1857 it was determined to occupy the Territory with a military force. Accordingly the 2d Regiment of Dragoons, the 5th and 10th Regiments of Infantry, and Battery "B" of the 4th Artillery, were ordered to rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri River. At that time the 2d Dragoons was serving in Kansas and Nebraska, the 10th Infantry was at the head-waters of the Mississippi and Red River, and the 5th Infantry was engaged against hostile Indians in Florida. The writer, who had spent part of the winter in the Big Cypress Swamp, and in the Everglades (where he made an expedition of three hundred miles through saw-grass and in mud and water nearly waist deep for twenty-eight successive days), was encamped with two companions at Pavilion Key enduring torment from myriads of mosquitoes, thus when the order came for a change of base (even to Utah) it was received with great rejoicing.

The different commands assembled at Fort Leavenworth with as little delay as possible, and when consolidated received the name of the "Army of Utah." Brigadier-General W. S. Harney was assigned to the command. The necessary supply of subsistence, clothing, forage, etc., was collected, and a contract made with Waddell & Co., of Missouri, for its transportation to Salt Lake City. Immense trains of large covered wagons, each drawn by six or eight yoke of oxen, were required for this purpose, and these were to be escorted and protected by the troops; but requiring no protection on the first part of the route, many of these trains started ahead of the column. The season was well advanced when the 5th Infantry, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Carlos A. Waite, the 10th Infantry, commanded by Colonel Edmund B. Alexander, Battery "B" of the 4th Artillery, commanded by Captain John W. Phelps, and an improvised Battery of heavy guns, the command of which was assigned to First Lieut. Jesse L. Reno of the Ordnance Corps, started on the march. General Harney and the 2d Regiment of Dragoons were to start still later and overtake the column en route, as the march of the Infantry encumbered with the ox trains would necessarily be slow. Colonel Alexander, being the Senior Officer present, assumed command of the column. The route taken for most of the distance was the same as the trail followed by Fremont on his first expedition in 1842. After striking the Nebraska or Platte River, it followed up the valley of the main Platte and the South fork of that river until near the mouth of Lodge-Pole Creek, then crossing over the North

fork it followed up that stream by Fort Laramie, and along the valley of the Sweet-Water and through the South-Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Before reaching this point intelligence was received that General Harney had been relieved from command of the Army of Utah, and had been succeeded by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston of the 2d Cavalry. Colonel Johnston, with his escort, the 2d Dragoons, did not overtake and join the column until after it had crossed Green River. Then winter had commenced in earnest. The weather became excessively cold, the whole country was covered with snow, so that animals could find no grass. Short forage had long been exhausted. Horses, mules, and oxen were dying of cold and starvation, and the route was lined with the carcasses of these dead animals. To reach Salt Lake before the next summer became an impossibility. It was necessary now to find a place where the Army could winter in safety. Several localities were mentioned. The guide employed for the advance column was an old mountaineer by the name of Tim Goodwine. Colonel Johnston had met at Leavenworth the celebrated Jim Bridger (who said he found it difficult to breathe in that thickly populated place), and engaged him for his guide. These two men had spent many years in the mountains, and knew every sheltered valley. Bridger had once owned a trading station on Black fork, and it was determined to march for that point. Previous to this a proclamation had appeared, signed by Lieut.-General Wells, commanding the Nauvoo Legion, forbidding the Army to enter the Territory of Utah, and threatening its destruction in case it did. Two or three of the ox-trains, which had gotten too far ahead, were attacked, the cattle ran off, and the wagons and stores contained in them burned. The draught animals were dying so rapidly that the march was greatly impeded. It became necessary to attach such cattle as were fit for work to a part of the wagons, haul them forward a few miles, and then send the animals back to bring forward another portion. This was slow work; and it took about three days to make the last six miles to Fort Bridger. This fortress was nothing but a rectangle inclosed by stone walls, about ten or twelve feet high. In the inclosure was placed and covered with paulins, all the subsistence, clothing, medical stores, camp and garrison equipage, etc., of the Army.

The column marched three miles farther up the stream, and encamped for the winter. Captain Robinson, 5th Infantry, with his own company, one company of the 10th Infantry, and a section of Artillery, was left in command at Fort Bridger to protect the supplies. Slight earthworks were thrown up at alternate angles of the inclosure, surrounded by a ditch and abatis of dead cedar trees. In one of these was placed a six-pounder gun, and in

the other a twelve-pound howitzer. After the trains were unloaded, and the supplies secured, all the horned cattle that had survived the march were slaughtered, and the meat was smoked and dried for the troops to live on through the winter. That was the only way to preserve it. It could not be salted, for there was no salt with the army. An officer of the 5th Infantry was fortunate enough to meet a wagon-master who was about to return to Missouri, who had in his possession part of a bag of salt, and which the officer purchased, paying for it three dollars and a half a pound. Before the winter was over, men offered to place gold on one side of the scales for an equal weight of salt on the other.

The Dragoons and all horses and mules were sent off to a valley where the animals could be kept alive on the bunch grass of the country. The newly appointed Governor of Utah and the new Judges of the Supreme Court arrived in camp, and remained through the winter. About a month later, Mr. Thomas L. Kane, of Pennsylvania, came to Fort Bridger from the direction of Salt Lake City. As he desired to see General Johnston, he was taken to headquarters, and, after an interview with the general and Governor Cummings, returned to Salt Lake. He was a brother of Dr. Elisha K. Kane, the Arctic explorer, and had spent several years of his life among the Mormons at Nauvoo. He was sent out by the administration, and entered the Territory by the way of California. What was the object of his mission, or what he expected to accomplish, was not generally known. A mail from the east arrived once a month, but not always on schedule time. One of the first brought orders from Washington organizing the Department of Utah.

Colonel Johnston was assigned to the command, with the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General. The usual duties of camp were strictly attended to. A long picket line was established, and the "field officer of the day" made his rounds day and night on foot, as there was not a horse in camp. There were no amusements to break the monotony. There was no hunting, as the region was destitute of game. In fact, with the exception of a few antelope and sage-hens, no game was seen after passing the Buffalo range. Fuel was hauled a long distance by hand. Rations were scarce, and the men were placed on shortened allowance. A communication was received from Brigham Young, ordering the troops out of the Territory, but kindly granting them permission to remain in their present camp until the roads became passable in the spring.

In midwinter, Captain R. B. Marcy, 5th Infantry, with a small party, started on a trip over the Wahsatch mountains to Fort Union, New Mexico, to procure a supply of beef cattle. He was successful, but did not re-

turn until a short time before the army again started on the march for Salt Lake City. By that time the meat ration was exhausted, and the arrival of beef on the hoof was a welcome sight to men who had lived for months on the meat of working cattle, killed on the verge of starvation. After the column had started, it was overtaken on the march by Senator Powell, of Kentucky, and Major Ben. McCullough, of Texas, sent out by President Buchanan to treat with the Mormons. Brigham Young had threatened, if the troops entered the Salt Lake Valley, that he would destroy everything and leave Utah a desert. When the army entered Salt Lake City the he-gira had taken place. Not more than half a dozen Mormons remained. Among them was Captain Hooper, who afterward represented the Territory as delegate in Congress. The city was not destroyed, but every dwelling was deserted and fastened with boards nailed across the doors and windows. Governor Cummings and the two peace commissioners followed after the Mormons, and induced them to return.

After remaining a few days in camp on the River Jordan, the army marched about thirty miles further and the soldiers were set at work building quarters. These were one story high, and built of adobes. To this permanent post was given the name of Camp Floyd, in honor of the Secretary of War. During the summer the command was reinforced by the arrival of part of the 2d Regiment of Cavalry, the 6th and 7th Regiments of Infantry, and a Battery of the 3d Artillery, Commanded by Captain John F. Reynolds. The 6th Infantry, however, did not remain in Utah, but continued the march to California. At Camp Floyd all the usual duties of troops in garrison were practiced with great regularity. Before another winter arrived, the soldiers of the 5th Infantry had erected a theater, in which several very clever performances were given. In each regiment there were found at least two or three good actors, and Salt Lake furnished the female stars.

The officers and men of the Army of Utah at first supposed that their mission was to subdue the Mormons, or at least to suppress the spirit of rebellion and lawlessness manifested by their leaders. After their arrival in the country, certain events inconsistent with this idea caused much surprise; among which was the arrival of Mr. Kane at Fort Bridger, authorized to treat for the Mormons. Next was the appearance of Peace Commissioners Powell and McCullough, who with Governor Cummings followed after Brigham Young and his fleeing hosts, and persuaded them to return to their homes. Then in the summer of 1859 Mr. Ben. Halliday suddenly appeared at Camp Floyd, bringing with him orders from the War Department to immediately sell at auction all the means of transportation

with the army, except such wagons and mules as were absolutely necessary for the daily use of the different commands. The great auction sale took place at once, and of course Mr. Halliday was the principal buyer. Some of the Mormons, however, had money laid up and availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase wagons and teams. When the sale was ended, the Army of Utah found itself in the same condition as Cortez after he had burned his ships.

Why was this army sent to this distant Territory at an enormous expense, great discomfort, and no little amount of suffering? It was hard to understand at the time, but subsequent events fully explain it. It was part of the scheme for the dissolution of the Union.

When Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President, he found the whole South in rebellion. Eleven States had seceded from the Union. Most of our navy was in foreign waters, and nearly all of the army was west of the Rocky Mountains. There were two or three regiments in Texas under the command of General Twiggs, who disarmed and surrendered them, as he was expected to do. The only troops available were a few companies of artillery along the Atlantic coast. At the South, there were two companies at Fort Pickens under the command of Lieutenant Slemmer, two companies under Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, two companies under Major Dimmock at Fortress Monroe, and a hundred recruits under Captain Robinson at Fort McHenry. The arsenals at the North had been stripped of arms and ammunition, which had been transferred to the South by order of Secretary Floyd and been seized by the seceding States. The Government was never in a more defenceless condition than it was on the 4th day of March, 1861. Had the President been able to send two or three good ships of war into Charleston harbor, or to mobilize twenty thousand soldiers in the neighborhood of that city, the rebellion would have been nipped in the bud. The organizers of the rebellion had managed well to insure its success. The plans were matured long before Mr. Lincoln's election. With our little army and navy out of reach, and the Treasury empty, they imagined that the "wayward sisters" would be allowed to depart in peace. An army of forty or fifty thousand men could not have been disposed of in that way. Such a force at that time would have saved the country from a war that cost half a million of lives, filled the land with widows and orphans, and imposed upon us a debt which would maintain a respectable army and navy for all time.

Shall we ever learn wisdom by experience? Our present army, scattered over an immense territory, is doing the work of a hundred thousand men. With probably the best officered navy in the world, we have neither

ships nor cannon, and any foreign power can insult us with impunity. Although the aggregate of Line Officers is less than it was twenty years before the rebellion, one-half the promotion has been stopped by law, and it is now gravely proposed to virtually retire from the service a large number of these gentlemen, educated expressly for their profession, simply because Congress has neglected to provide for building modern ships and guns commensurate to the wants of the country. Was ever such folly, injustice, and ingratitude contemplated in any civilized government before?

Armies and Navies are a necessity of civilization. They prevent wars by being prepared to meet them. The government that maintains an adequate military and naval force is always respected. Let our surplus revenue be devoted to building vessels for the navy, the manufacture of modern artillery and the fortification of our harbors, then, with our volunteers always ready, the United States may defy the world in arms.

Ans. C. Robinson

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY INTELLIGENCE

Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY EDWARD F. DELANCEY

(Continued from page 257, Vol. XI.)

New York June 17 1781. Capt. Beckwith.

Captain Hatfield* informs me that from information from West Point of last Tuesday, brought by a Mr. Hatfield, now coming into the city from Jersey, he is informed that Gen^l Washington with the remains of the Continental army (a few meant for the defence of the Frontiers excepted) will soon march to Virginia: they are now making every preparation for that purpose. The French are to have the defence of West Point†

G: B:

* Captain Cornelius Hatfield jr. the noted tory partizan of N. J., and John Smith Hatfield of Elizabethtown, were, it is believed, the parties here named.

† This "information from West Point" is the first direct mention of a projected movement to Virginia by Washington, in all probability, that was brought to Sir Henry Clinton's notice. It is clear from this entry, that the idea had been mooted and talked of in the American camp prior to its date, the 17th of June, 1781. It is certain, however, that the *possibility* of a Southern movement *was not contemplated by Washington* till the 20th of July—about a month later, that he did *not consider it seriously* till the 1st of August, and that he *did not decide to make that movement*, till the 14th of August, 1781. His own private Journal in the possession of the State department at Washington, and printed for the first time in full, by its Librarian, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, in the seventh volume of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, with an admirable introduction, prove these facts beyond a cavil; and that the movement, with him, was simply "Hobson's choice."

Under "July 20th" Washington writes, "Count de Rochambeau having called upon me in the name of Count de Barras, for a definite plan of campaign, that he might communicate it to the Count de Grasse—I could not but acknowledge, that the uncertainties under which we labour,—the few men who had joined (either as recruits for the Continental Batt^{ns} or Militia—& the ignorance in which I am kept by some of the States on whom I most depended—especially Massachusetts, from whose Gov^t I have not received a line since I addressed him from Weathersfield the 23d of May last,—rendered it impracticable for me to do more than to prepare, first, for the enterprise against New York as agreed to at Weathersfield—and secondly, for the relief of the Southern States, if after all my efforts & earnest application to these States, it should be found on the arrival of the Count de Grasse, that I had neither men, nor means adequate to the first object. To give this opinion I was further induced from the uncertainty with respect to the time of the arrival of the French Fleet & whether land troops would come in it, or not, as had been earnestly requested by me and enforced by the Minister of France."

Under date of "August 1st" he writes " * * * every thing would have been in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York, if the States had furnished their quotas of

From Dr. Hal—n at Rhode Island to Capⁿ. Beckwith, rec^d. 19th June 1781.

On the 3^d I gave you a full detail of the plan of operations intended. On the 1st of June a council of War was held on board the Admiral, and the result of it was, to embark 400 more men in addition to the 1000, and put to sea immediately. The signal was made to answer, and the boats sent for the men;—In the Evening an Express arrived from Gen. Washington giving them an account of the ill success to the Southward which altered the whole system of operations. A second council was held and it was there determined that the army should march to join General W: by land and the fleet to remain in the Harbour of Newport, and for its security four hundred men were draughted from each regiment with fifty artillery

Men agreeably to my requisitions—but so far have they been from complying with these that of the first, not more than half the number asked of them have joined the army; and of the 6200 of the latter pointedly & continuously called for, to be with the army by the 15th of last month (July) only 176 had arrived from Connecticut, independent of abt. 300 State Troops under the command of Genl Waterbury, which had been on the lines before we took the field, & two companies of York levies (abt. 80 Men) under similar circumstances. Thus circumstanced, and having little more than general assurances of getting the succors called for, * * * I could scarce see a ground upon which to continue my preparations against New York—especially as there was much reason to believe that part (at least) of the Troops in Virginia were recalled to reinforce New York, and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had before done) to an operation to the Southward—and in consequence, sent to make enquiry, indirectly, of the principal merchants to the Eastward, what number, and in what time, Transports could be provided to convey a force to the Southward, if it should be found necessary to change our plan, and similar application was made in a direct way to Mr. Morris (Financier) to discover what number could be had by the 20th of this month at Philadelphia—or in Chesapeake bay."

Finally, on "August 14," he decided most reluctantly to abandon his long cherished plan against New York and go to Virginia, and he thus states his decision and the grounds for it: "Received despatches from the Count de Barras, announcing the intended departure of the Count de Grasse from Cape Francois with between 25 & 29 sail of the line & 3000 land Troops on the 3d instant for Chesapeake bay. * * * Matters having now come to a crisis and a decisive plan to be determined on,—I was obliged from the shortness of Count de Grasse's promised stay on this coast—the apparent disinclination in their naval officers to force the harbour of New York, and the feeble compliance of the States to my requisitions for men, hitherto, & little prospect of greater exertion in the future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; and instead thereof to remove the French Troops & a detachment of the American Army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of co-operating with the force from the West Indies against the Troops in that State."

Three days before this last entry he had notice of the arrival at New York of a Fleet with supplies, and 3000 German troops, as a reinforcement to Sir Henry Clinton. This news, followed by de Barras's despatches above mentioned, and the utter failure of the New England States to send him men, thus forced Washington on the 14th of August, 1781, to decide to go to Virginia. Between this date and the 1st of September, when Clinton became aware of the new movement, began and ended that brilliant series of deceptive movements and feigned despatches which so completely hoodwinked and paralyzed the British commander in chief. Such are the real facts, such the simple truth, notwithstanding the immense amount of fine speaking and fine writing on the subject, regarding the great Franco-American movement which practically established the Independence of the Thirteen Colonies, and happily ended forever British preponderance in the Western Hemisphere.

men and a thousand militia to be instantly demanded.* The Hermione Frigate was despatched to sea to meet the Frigate from Boston in order to cruize for the expected reinforcement and to conduct them into some port in the Massachusetts. The Duke of Lauzun was sent Express to Genl Washington with those resolutions, it being the system agreed on, if any thing should happen to prevent the first taking place.† The conduct of the French has been so marked by doubt, irresolution and uncertainty, that although I was acquainted in two hours‡ after the council broke up of their designs, yet I chose to wait to see a part of the plan fulfilled before I communicated it to you. On the 10th the Deux Ponts and Bourbonnois regiments embarked in small vessels for Providence and the Gentille and Ariel frigates sailed for Boston with a view I suppose to strengthen the fleet there, to bring round such stores as may be Wanted for the Navy, which have lately arrived there in a fleet of transports, consisting of Seventeen Sail, with about 1000 draughts for the army some seamen for the fleet and stores, supplies &c for both, under convoy of the Sagittaire of 50 Guns.§ On the 11th the Soissonois and Saintonge Regiments with the artillery likewise Embarked for Providence, which is the last Division, and it is said that the two former Regiments march from Providence the same day to make room for their reception. This I somewhat doubt as I was informed by an officer of rank that the whole body would stop some days to arrange their affairs—Four hundred out of the 1000 Militia are arrived. They (the French) have left their forts without guns and without Platforms—four small field pieces and six nine and six pounders are all the artillery at present upon the Island. These cannon were disembarked on the 7th. I have carefully looked for them since but cannot find any vestige of them anywhere and imagine they again embarked them.

It is said that in case they are attacked the Admiral means to land some of the

* This account of what was done is very correct, but the reason given for the change, "ill success" to the Southward is not. The real cause was, the receipt of the news of De Grasse's arrival at Martinico, and of the movements he proposed, which caused the second council of war on board the "Duc de Bourgogne" the French Flag Ship. *Journal of Claude Blanchard (the chief commissary of Rochambeau's army)*, p. 105. *Bulch's ed.*

† The Duke de Lauzun left Newport on May 31st, saw Washington at New Windsor June 3d, and departed the next day with Washington's reply to the decision of the French council of war, practically assenting to its change of the plan adopted at Weathersfield on 23d May, and reached Newport on his return on June 7th. *Blanchard's Journal* 106. *VIII Sparks* 64.

‡ Dr. Haliburton, the writer of this letter, must have had this intelligence so soon from one of the high French officers at the Council, as they only were present. His prominent position in Rhode Island as a physician, probably aided him in acquiring information. See note to entry of 15th March, *ante* (p. 54 Jan. No. Mag. Am. Hist.)

§ This was the frigate and convoy detached from his fleet at sea by De Grasse. "On the road (to Providence) I met a naval officer, who was going to report at Newport that the Sagittaire, a ship of 50 guns, had arrived at Boston, after a passage of 80 days, with the greater part of the convoy we were expecting. Only four ships which had gone astray were missing." *Claude Blanchard's Journal*, under date of August 9th, 1781, p. 107.

lower deck guns of the ship. This probably may take place if they have time to deliberate on means and methods, but the same confused plans and arrangements that bewildered certain officers in a similar situation appears to affect them.* Two Mortars are left in the Battery at Brenton's Point. If I might presume to reason a little on the above particulars it should be thus: Every man of any sense and discernment must certainly see that the situation of my much beloved country, Great Britain, is somewhat critical, and to the generous and disinterested Patriot, truly alarming. Some striking and Spirited Exertions are necessary to relieve her from her present embarrassments. A powerful and dangerous combination of the House of Bourbon with her revolted colonies;—the navy of the former at least equal, if not superior to hers;—an ungrateful and unexpected enemy arising against her in the Dutch Republic;—with men, money, and infinite resources. On the contrary—without allies, without friends, without any other support than the Virtue, Bravery, Skill, and Exemplary diligence, and uncorrupted integrity of her officers—what can she have to depend on. I trust a full and perfect confidence may be placed in the latter. The present situation of the French fleet left to the care of 450 men and 1000 Banditti points out at once what may be attempted. If our information is right, a strong reinforcement is already arrived. Eleven ships of the line, with two fifties, 44^s and frigates in abundance, form a vast superiority, and on a supposition of a scarcity of soldiers it has been a custom in former Wars, and in cases of exigency, to supply that deficiency with the Marines of the fleet. Any number above 5000 it appears to me would carry the point with much Ease—less than that would perhaps protect and prolong, so as to make a disappointment possible. There are three important points to be attended to—viz.: surrounding the Island with the Navy so as to prevent landing from the Main—taking possession of Quaker, or Windmill, Hill, so as to cut off all communication with the rebels, and effecting a landing on Brenton's Neck—that Batteries may be raised against the (unintelligible) Forts and Shipping. In a Single Week I will be answerable with my life that the great work would be accomplished, and its glorious effects felt in every part of the British dominions. The Country is now laboring under every species of oppression,—Their currency totally annihilated,—at least, 150 and 200 for one may be considered as such,—the silver money taxes, collected in such a manner as to create resentment and disgust,—the new taxes multiplying and increasing and loudly complained of, and generally believed cannot be realized. In such a situation what may not such a stroke effect? What may not a bold and necessary enterprise bring about? A country ready for a change will grasp at the mild and beneficent offers of its glorious conquerors and ancient friends, and as many of its bitterest enemies are now leaning towards their former connection, some from conviction, some from oppression, and a recollection of their former happiness,† every good

* This allusion is evidently to the D'Estaing-Sullivan fiasco at Newport, in August, 1778.

† This description of the condition of things in New England, from a *Tory view*, is of the date of June 19, 1781; the following is a *French view*, three days earlier. On the 16th Claude

may be expected and hoped for from such an event. I therefore humbly lay this before you, if you think it fit and proper for the inspection of a certain great and good officer.* I leave it entirely at your mercy to curtail any part, or to expunge the whole. If it should take place and he should have any occasion for my services, you will make it known to our common friend in due time; and he will take care to inform me. His secrecy and fidelity may be depended on. He is a noble and sincere friend.†

The small army left at Newport is com^d by Brigadier General Choisy, famous for commanding the Confederates at the siege of Cracow in Poland. The number gone to join Washington amounts to 2600. The French speak confidently of the reinforcement at Boston—but the papers of Providence and Newport only mention it as a report. They promise themselves great matters when the hurricane months approach, and speak positively of powerful succours from the West Indies; but I hope their power in America will be annihilated before that period arrives. If anything is designed that way, the fleet must go by way of the Hook—otherwise the whole country will be alarmed; and if the wind was to prove contrary, even appearing off the Capes of Delaware would be advantageous, as it would give them a false scent. It is thought extremely surprising that Boston Bay should be left without a little squadron, when a French fleet was expected, and the number of prizes carried in there by their privateers serve greatly to keep up the spirit of the rebellion, which would perish fast without such support. The suppression of Privateering will contribute as much towards the restoration of peace, as the most bloody defeats.

The master of a Privateer named the Franklin Positively declares that he took a vessel from Liverpool, belonging to a fleet consisting of four sail of the line, Eight frigates and 150 sail of transports with Eight thousand troops on board bound for New York. If this is true, we cannot but hope, &c. &c. To prevent your attempting anything this way they will no doubt make a show of attacking New York, but they cannot for their souls collect provisions enough to keep a large body of men together for a week, and on the supposition that they could I should suppose that there were enough Privateersmen, sailors, inhabitants, adventurers &c. at York now

Blanchard, the French Chief Commissary of Rochambeau's army, wrote in his Journal (p. 108): "The Americans supplied us with nothing; we were obliged to purchase everything, and to provide ourselves with the most trifling things. It is said that it is better to make war in an enemy's country than among one's friends. If this is an axiom, it acquires still more truth *when war is made in a poor and exhausted country, where the men are possessed of little information, selfish, and divided in their opinions.*"

* The Commander-in-chief.

† There is nothing to form a clue to the identity of this "noble and sincere friend" of Dr. Haliburton. The very free manner of this letter of the Doctor is striking, as well as its tone, and the particularity and fullness of the information, and the views of the situation. This is probably owing to the fact, that it is written to Capt. George Beckwith, who was not a stranger, nor mere official, but a personal friend, and the brother of the Capt. John Beckwith who was the husband of Dr. Haliburton's daughter Mary. *Introduction*, p. 330, Vol. X., Mag. Am. Hist.

to defend it, until this business is accomplished, which is certainly of the highest importance. It ought to be remembered that no offence must be taken in a free conversation with my new correspondent ; an honest zeal alone inspires me. There now remains in the Harbour seven sail of the line, the Romulus and five transports, with shot, shells, Field artillery, Baggage, &c. &c.

Intelligence by Capt^m Marquard 20th June 1781.

Sixty or seventy horses were seen at Crompond Sunday last in the afternoon.

The Bakery arrived the same day at Scrubbock.* They have a very large train of waggons with them, about 400 ox teams with other carriages.

The whole of the French troops were on their march to Peekskill from Danbury last Sunday, supposed above 3000 strong with a great number of light cannon. Moyland's and Sheldon's dragons have joined the French cavalry on their march. It is expected the whole of them is now at Crompond, the horse in particular.

The rebels have an account that a bloody battle was fought between Lord Cornwallis and Green, the particulars not known.

A number of French officers dined last Sunday near Crompond, who looked at the ground thereabouts.

Questions by Major De Lancey to Hiram with his answers, given, 20th June, 1781.

Dear Sir

In consequence of our conversation last night I have put down what follows :

(questions.)

1st Is it your opinion that Gen^l P—s will enter so heartily as to make us hope he will take an open determined step in our favor? Should that be the case you can hold up the situation of General Arnold and say it is in his power to place himself in one equally conspicuous ; and as he must lose his present property for a time, the C. in C.† will, for every man he puts in our possession pay three guineas ; or should he choose it, he will specify the sum that shall be paid on such an event as we shall wish taking

(answers.)

1st It is my opinion that he does not wish to take an open and avowed part at present, however determined he may appear to be (and is really so) to communicate any material intelligence in his power, to inculcate principles of reconciliation, and detaching his subordinate officers from French connection.

I have no authority to say that he will give up any post or men committed to his care. This in my opinion must depend upon future contingencies, and the adverse turn *their* ‡ affairs are like to

* "Scrub Oak," of late years softened into "Shrub Oak," is here intended. It is a small hamlet in the north-western part of Westchester County, N. Y., about three miles southeast of Peekskill.

† The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton.

‡ This word is underscored in the MS.

place. In the meantime should he exert himself to give us intelligence, he need only name the recompense, and most punctual attention shall be paid to it.

The greatest secrecy will be observed on our parts; anything that in the end is to be made public will depend upon himself, and as the method of communicating will be under your management, little danger can be apprehended. It being necessary to establish a more frequent intercourse, I think your proposal for Bulkley to take any papers to *Cable's*, and to be taken from his house by *Knapp* † will be the best, as attended with less danger. Should anything of great moment arise, we should hope you will take such method (which is left to your own prudence) to communicate it to us without loss of time, and tho' I would not have you risk yourself, yet where the end is great, your zeal will induce you to be a little less cautious than usual. I need not repeat that gratitude will prompt us to keep pace in our recom-

take; for, were he sure that Independence would take place, his prospects as a General officer would be so great from the country, that they would outweigh every other consideration.

I have frequently held up Arnold to his view, who (I observed) acquired the esteem, the countenance and protection of the C. in Chief,* the applause of his brother officers, and would in the end of the Nation in general, together with honour and emoluments, instead of *Contempt*.†

I have on a former occasion described the man to you, his local attachments, his scruples, his prejudices, and talents at intrigue; and as he has already embarked half way, your own acquaintance with the human heart, will enable you to judge whether it is not probable, that in time, he will go through the several gradations you would wish and expect of him.

To effect this something generous ought to be given him in hand, but (in my opinion) not so much as I know he would ask. His expectations may

* This opinion of Heron's was probably more the result of his wishes as to Parsons than based upon knowledge of the facts alleged. Clinton, weak and vacillating as he was, is not fairly chargeable with "esteem" for Arnold. Dunlap, in his *History of New York* (vol. 2, p. 201) says: "I have been assured by a gentleman of the most unblemished character, now far advanced in years, that when Arnold departed from New York, in the command of the armies with which he committed depredations in the Chesapeake, a dormant commission was given to Colonels Dundas and Simcoe, jointly, by Sir Henry Clinton, authorizing them if they suspected Arnold of sinister intent, to supersede him and put him in arrest. This proves that Clinton did not trust him. * * * The gentleman who communicated this fact to me was in his youth a confidential clerk of Sir Henry Clinton's office, and copied and delivered the dormant commission as directed." A private letter of Cornwallis to Lord Rawdon, of July 23, 1781, from Portsmouth, in referring to his correspondence with Clinton, also throws light on Clinton's view of Arnold. It thus closes: "I offered to return to Carolina, but it was not approved of, and it became absolutely necessary to send Leslie, lest the command should have devolved on ———. I. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, 107. The dash is put by the editor, Ross, for the name written by Cornwallis.

† Underscored in the MS.

‡ "Bulkley" has been mentioned before; "Cable" was one of three or four of the name, natives of Long Island; "Knapp" was probably Moses Knapp of Reading; all were agents of William Heron of Reading, the "Hiram" who writes these letters. The names are underscored in the MS.

pense to you, with the rewards given to our friend.

I give you the general heads of what we could wish our friend should inform us of.

- 1st The State of the American Army.
- 2nd The State of the French Army.
- 3^d How each Army is situated.
- 4th What enterprize they mean to undertake, and the method of counteracting them.
- 5th What supplies and from whence they expect to subsist.
- 6th Where the magazines are, and how to be destroyed.
- 7th The movement of the French fleet, and their intentions.

be raised. It is for you to judge how much you would be willing to give at present, as an adequate reward for what I have given you reason to expect; and I find myself disposed to fall short, rather than raise your expectations, as I think it the more pardonable error of the two. Whatever you are willing to give, shall be my business to safe convey.

The mode of conveyance thro' Bulkley, Cable, and K—p shall be punctually attended to, if you think it the most eligible: but since we conversed on the subject I have thought of a less expensive and equally safe (if not more so) method. It is this. The Refugees ought to be directed to make descents from Lloyd's Neck at certain periods, viz, the 1st and 15th of each month, on the shore adjacent to Bulkley's house,* for the ostensible purpose of destroying whale boats, driving off cattle, &c.—as they could land in force, the small Rebel guards would be drove back into the country sufficiently remote from Bulkley's house, so as to give some prudent officer (whose business it ought to be made) an opportunity of receiving from Bulkley the papers left with him. As the Refugees would conceive these little excursions to be in the line of their duty,† no additional expense to government would accrue. Perhaps I am mistaken. Should any event occur in the intermediate spaces of time, which would require immediate notice to be given *here*, I would ride down to Knapps and charge him with the delivery of it.‡ Which of

* "Bulkley's house" was on the shore of the Sound near Fairfield, Connecticut.

† They were under the orders and pay of the "Board of Associated Loyalists" in New York, established by the order of Lord George Germaine, described before in these notes, a body independent of the British army, and subject only to the general authority of the Commander-in-Chief.

‡ Heron lived on Reading Ridge, and "Knapps" was probably somewhere between his house and "Bulkley's" house on the shore at Fairfield. Reading was about 16 miles from Fairfield.

8th News from the Southward of consequence.

9th The situation of the different forts.

10th News from Europe.

11th The hopes of the ensuing campaign.

12th As much of the correspondence between General Washington and the Congress as possible.

The above are general heads. His own knowledge will point out any further information that may be of use, and I hope his zeal will make these communications frequent.

As the endeavour of our friend may principally tend to promote a speedy reconciliation, at the end of the war he has ever to be assured that the gratitude of the Nation, which he has contributed to restore peace and happiness, will place him in the most honorable and most lucrative situations.

As it is necessary I should report to

these modes of conveyance appears to you to be the most preferable, shall be attended to.

The several heads from the 1st to the 12th inclusive shall be attended to; but as I may not retain them, and it not being safe to carry such minutes out with me now, it will be best to send them out to Bulkley, and order him to leave them at the usual place.* They ought to be in cypher. I shall look for them about the 28th inst. and shall collect such intelligence [to convey back by the same hand] as I find are deserving notice.

The necessity of our friend's giving me frequent and particular information of every occurrence, in order to transmit them *here* † shall be urged.

Nothing shall be wanting on my part that may tend to beget in him a firm and perfect reliance on those offers you are pleased to authorize me to make. The ascendancy I have over him, the influence I have with him, the confidence he has already reposed in me, the alluring prospect of Pecuniary, as well as honorary rewards, together with the plaudits of a *grateful* ‡ nation, shall all be combined together and placed in a conspicuous point of view, to engage him heartily in the cause.

I know of no better method to try his sincerity, than for him to select out of the foregoing heads from the 1st to the 12th inclusive, such as he can immediately give proper and precise answers to, and entrust me with the care of com-

* This was apparently some hidden receptacle or cavity in the rocks, or stone fences, or earth, at no great distance from his house above mentioned, where Bulkley obtained and placed the communications from and to Heron. The italics are underscored in the MS.

† New York City, as Heron wrote this letter while there.

‡ Underscored in the MS.

the C. in C., he will think the business in no great forwardness unless I could give him some marks of the sincerity of our friends intentions. To you I leave the method of procuring it.

With respect to the scheme of traffick, if you will point out the best method, every assistance shall be given.

I must now request you will give me the fullest information on the margin of this letter, which will add to the many obligations you have conferred on

&c. &c.

O. DeL.

municating them. In this service it would not be amiss for me to be able to tell what he may expect at present. I urge this to prevent his making an unreasonable and extravagant demand.

As to the scheme of traffick if I find it can be carried on without great danger, I shall point out to Mr McNeill * the method of carrying it into execution without any expense to the government.

The danger attending it one side, is greater now than when I first proposed it.

To promote the real interest of my king and country, and to approve myself deserving the approbation of the C. in C., and you, shall be the constant objects of my attention.

I am &c. &c.

W. H. †

* Charles McNeill of Reading, a neighbour of Heron's, probably.

† In Washington's private journal above referred to, appear some items of his "Secret Daily Intelligence" recorded by himself, contemporary in point of time with this of Clinton recorded by Capt. Beckwith. The comparison is interesting. The similarity is great. Under May 1st, 1781, Washington writes, "Major Talmadge was requested to press the C—s Sen^r and Jun^r to continue their correspondence—and was authorized to assure the elder C—that he should be repaid the 100 guineas or more with interest: provided he advanced the same for the purpose of defraying the expense of the correspondence, as he had offered to do. Colo. Dayton was also written to, to establish a correspondence with New York by way of Elizabethtown for the purpose of obtaining intelligence of the enemy's movements and designs; that by a comparison of accts. proper and just conclusions may be drawn."

May 15th, Information dated 12 o'clock yesterday, reports 15 sail of vessels a number of flat boats to be off Fort Lee.

Intelligence from C— Sen^r, dated 729 (a cipher date)—"a detachment is expected to sail tomorrow from New York," and then specifically names the regiments "to be conveyed by 7 ships of the line, 2 fifties, & 3 forty-fours, which are to cruise off the Capes of Virginia. He gives it as the opinion of C— Jun^r, that the above detachment does not exceed 2000 men—that not more than 400 remain—which is only (he adds) to be accounted for on the supposition of their expecting a reinforcement immediately from Europe.

May 22^d. A letter from Gen. St. Clair came to hand with accts. of an apparent intention of the enemy to evacuate New York.

May 31. A letter from Major Talmadge enclosing one from C. Sen^r & another from S. G., dated the 27th, were totally silent on the subject of an evacuation of New York; but speak of an order for marching the Troops from Long Island—and the countermand of it after they had commenced their march—Neither C. Sen^r nor S. G. estimate the enemy's force at New York & its de-

pendencies at more than 4500 men including the new Levies ; but C. says it is reported that they can command five, & some add, 6000 militia & refugees—S. G. disposes of the enemy's force as follows—(giving in detail the names, positions, and strength of all the British Regiments on New York Island, Staten Island, and at Newtown, Jamaica, Hempstead, and Floyd's Neck on Long Island, in all 2600 men. Then follows the names and strength of the Regiments forming "the detachment which left Sandy Hook the 13th inst. according to S. G.'s acct," amounting to 1450 men.

June 1st Letters from Doctor Smith of Albany, & — Shepherd, principal armorer at that place, were intercepted, giving to the enemy, with acct. of our distresses, the strength and disposition of our troops—The disaffection of particular settlements—the provision these settlements had made to subsist them, their readiness to join them,—the gen^l temper of the people, and their earnest wishes for their advance in force—assuring them of the happy consequences which would derive to the Kings arms if they would move rapidly to Albany.

(To be Continued.)

MINOR TOPICS

Letter from Mr. Thomas C. Amory

[We are requested to publish the following communication from Mr. Amory concerning the course pursued by General Sullivan and his brother Daniel in 1781, as revealed through the official *Private Intelligence* papers of Sir Henry Clinton in progress of publication, from month to month, in this *Magazine*. Mr. Amory, in offering this explanation to the public, seeks to do justice to his kinsmen, claiming that "no one can fairly judge of the matter without knowing more than can be found in the *Secret Journal* itself."—EDITOR.]

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY:—

The only evidence of any disloyalty on the part of Gen. Sullivan in the Clinton Journal, as far as published, is a declaration drawn up, not by Daniel Sullivan, but by Major Holland. It purported to give an account of what took place between the brothers the sixth and seventh of May, 1781, in Philadelphia, about ten days before. In February a frigate had been sent to Frenchman's Bay, to capture his brother Daniel. A party landed at night near his residence, had taken him prisoner, driven his wife and children into the snow, burnt his house and carried him to Castine. Offered in vain the usual inducements to swear allegiance to the crown, he was sent to New York and imprisoned in the Jersey hulks. He was perishing in this noisome prison house, anxious for his health and life and for the safety of his family, when Holland, a refugee loyalist, who had left New Hampshire in 1778 under suspicion of disaffection, then a major in the British service, came to visit him. Daniel was soon after permitted to go on parole to Philadelphia to see his brother John, then a member of the Congress, to effect his exchange carrying a letter to his brother from Holland, who had known him before the war.

All known of Holland's letter is from what John told Luzerne a day or two afterwards, and Luzerne wrote Vergennes on the 13th. The answer John wrote Holland, for fear of its being misconstrued, he sent for Daniel next morning, as he was returning to New York, and took away. So that this declaration drawn up by Holland, it is fair to presume with a view to effect Daniel's liberation, is the only evidence of what took place. If having any basis of fact to rest upon, it is clearly too exaggerated and otherwise improbable to accept without a very large share of allowance. Gen. Sullivan did not probably care to send his brother away without expressing his readiness to do all he could for his rescue, but the declaration states he made no such promise as Daniel suggested, promised nothing else but to comply with Holland's letter, which was doubtless a request to do what he could to set Daniel free by promoting his exchange. John would not have gone at once and told Luzerne of Daniel's visit had he been inclined to violate any obligation.

The declaration would not have been needed if Holland had heard from

Gen. Sullivan by the seventeenth, and it does not appear that there was any such correspondence. Had he encouraged Holland or Clinton to believe that he favored peace to save his brother's life, or, as suggested to Luzerne, to obtain information from the enemy with the concurrence of Congress, one of its committees, or a few of his friends in that body, if he did not betray any secret neither Clinton nor Holland could complain. But there is no evidence that by word or deed he had any correspondence with the enemy, that he ever gave them any comfort, information or advice, entertained any expectation of favor or reward. At the same time, if in the usual channels there was any course to be pursued to save Daniel, it is fair to presume from his generous nature that he preserved it as far as he honorably might.

But a very conclusive argument with some, perhaps, against the probability of any want of fidelity would be the want of time and chance. For seven years no one had been more devoted to the cause of independence than himself, sacrificing freely health and estate to bring it about. If America had reasons for discouragement, so had England. But even if John had wavered, Holland was a comparative stranger and he was not likely to forfeit his claim to esteem which he said the British entertained for him, by any venality. On the 22d, within two weeks from Daniel's departure, Luzerne received a letter from the King to the Congress, in answer to one written him at the suggestion of Sullivan in November, promising immediate re-enforcements, military and naval supplies, and ten million francs, at the same time announcing England had made overtures for peace through Russia and Austria, and urging redoubled efforts for the campaign to better the terms; and on the 26th Sullivan was appointed on the committee to consult with Luzerne, and till he left Congress in September he was engaged in drafting commissions for Franklin, Adams, Laurens, Jay, and Jefferson, corresponding with them and the states.

That same month, on the fourteenth, his colleague Livermore arrived. Robert Morris accepted the Department of Finance and reported the plans of the Bank of America, which were approved on the 26th. His committee on providing means for the war, suggested by him but of which Witherspoon was chairman, had had the principal charge of these financial reforms. Questions that had occurred between the treasury and loan offices, led to the resolutions that the war should be carried on upon a specie basis; and also that all contracts for rations should be in coin. The proposed sale of the frigate at Portsmouth to Spain, supplies of provisions to Wayne's army at the south, sending back Gates to the field, reorganizing the army establishment, its clothing and rations, urging the states to pay up their assessments, all occupied his attention, besides many other public duties, these three weeks to which alone any question could attach, for after that time there could be no reason to doubt with all Europe arrayed against England and she suing for peace, France insisting on independence, but the victory needed little to be gained. We desire to explain what may need explanation and

prevent injustice from future historians. The character and good reputation of our American leaders in camp and counsel in the war of Independence are safeguards of our free institutions too precious to be placed in jeopardy by misapprehension.

THOMAS C. AMORY

BOSTON, March 14, 1884

THE MASSACRE OF ST. ANDRE

Charles Dimitry, in his prize sketch of the massacre of the French on the Mississippi River, by the Natchez Indians, in 1729, which, from its having occurred on the saint's-day, he denominates the "Massacre of St. Andre," says: "Accounts differ as to the loss of life in this terrible slaughter. The Chevalier Bossu, in his '*Voyage à la Louisiane*,' puts the number of slain at twenty thousand. Regarded in its least shadowy light, the massacre fills a dark page in the history of Louisiana, and its causes, its preliminaries, and its execution possess a romantic interest." The scene on the fatal morning is thus described by Mr. Dimitry:

"A little before sunrise the Natchez began to appear in considerable numbers at the fort and on the plantations. Their calm, imperturbable faces betrayed no purpose, revealed no secret. They came as shadows out of the forest paths, thronging into the fort through the unguarded gate, and through the breaches in the palisades which neglect had left unrepaired, as if to invite the entrance of a foe. On the river bank, too, near where the galley lay moored, they stood and held converse with the men on the boat. They were gathered, also (but this the French did not know), on the other side of the river. These detachments were stationed at the galley and on the opposite shore to cut off the retreat of the French by way of the Mississippi. At the fort and on the plantations they had a simple and not unreasonable story to tell to account for their presence. They were going on a great hunt—that was all. To secure their game, more guns and ammunition were needed. These they borrowed from the French, promising to share the products of their hunt with the leaders. By this strategy they at once disarmed the French and armed themselves. It will thus be seen that, from the inception of the plot to its terrible ending, through all its minutiae and exigencies, the Natchez had combined and prearranged with a marvelous skill. Like a piece of vast machinery that worked without a flaw, the plot moved on from the beginning, silently, regularly, efficaciously. Nowhere does any evidence exist that on that fatal morning the French felt any suspicion of their guests."

Soon after eight o'clock in the morning the carnage began. "Like heavy drops of rain falling at brief intervals on a roof, came the sputtering of repeated firings throughout the settlement, drowsily reverberating through the woods. Flight?

flight was out of the question. Thereafter—at the house, in the fort, in the houses of the planters far and near—the merciless reports drowned the utterances of pain, of agony, of terror. The soldiers of the post, without officers, and taken by surprise, were killed on the spot where the call of fate found them. . . . With that supreme contempt for all things except the sun and their own class, which distinguished the royal family of the Natchez, the Great Sun sat with imperious indifference, during the entire massacre, under the shed of one of the Company's structures, calmly smoking his pipe. As the victims fell their heads were brought to him. Nearest to him was placed the head of Chépart—a fact which would seem to indicate that the commandant was slain early in the day. Around him, a horrible circle of deformed, distorted and bleeding human faces, were set the heads of the other officers and the principal planters. On a pile near by were cast promiscuously the heads of the common people.

"Terrible as were the scenes at and around the fort, the plantations witnessed still more fearful ones. Not for a moment did the slaughter cease as long as a victim remained to share the fate of those who had preceded him. Separated as were the plantations, for one instant of conscious horror, perhaps, the unfortunate planters, their families and slaves, could only conjecture that for them and all of the community the end of the world had come indeed. Only on one plantation, that of Mons. De la Loire, previously mentioned, was resistance offered. In a sharply contested battle that occurred between that gentleman's servants and the Natchez, eight of the latter were killed. But eventually the slayers were themselves slain, and Mons. De la Loire, returning to his house when the firing began, was shot down, after killing two of his assailants. Mons. Du Cader, commandant of the post at the Yazoo, who had just arrived in his carriage on a visit to Chépart, was met and killed, together with a companion, a priest, while on his way, on foot, from the river to the house of the commandant.

"Only two Frenchmen were spared, and they owed their lives to the possession of a certain mechanical skill of which the Natchez wished to avail themselves. One was a wheelwright, and the other, strange as it may seem, was a tailor. . . . When the news of the massacre reached New Orleans several days later, grief, terror, and apprehension struggled for the mastery in the hearts of the people and the authorities. The troops were drawn up in the Place d'Armes; every house became an armory, every citizen a prospective defender. The forts were strengthened, and at every street corner was posted a sentinel. The planters everywhere were warned, and the militia was called out. Throughout the town the long-roll vehemently beat an alarm such as Louisiana never had known. The Choctaws and the Tunicas, living about ninety miles above the city, marched with the French against the Natchez"—and the sequel is well known.

NOTES

DR. FRANKLIN AS A COURTIER—

The original of the following note in Franklin's own handwriting is shown under glass to strangers visiting the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. So far as known it has never yet appeared in print. The Abbé de la Roche, to whom it was addressed, was the friend of Helvétius, the philosopher, and his wife, and is chiefly known in literature as the editor of complete editions of Helvétius and Montesquieu. The neatly turned compliment of the note suggests the reflection that Franklin's philosophy did not prevent his being a very agreeable courtier.

Billet de Benj. Franklin
à l'Abbé de la Roche.

M. Franklin n'oublie jamais aucune Partie où Me. Helvetius doit être. Il croit même que s'il était engagé d'aller à Paradis ce matin, il ferai supplication d'être permis de rester sur terre jusqu'à une heure & demi, pour recevoir l'embrassade qu'elle a bien voulu lui promettre en le rencontrant chez M. Turgot.

Translation.

Mr. Franklin never forgets any party where Madame Helvétius is to be. He believes even that if he were engaged to go to Paradise this morning, he would beg to be allowed to remain on earth until half-past one o'clock, in order to receive the salutation she kindly promised him on meeting him at M. Turgot's.

W. B. B.

A POETIC MORCEAU OF 1772—Lines addressed to Miss Love Frye, of Salem, Massachusetts.

[Miss Frye was the daughter of the Hon. Peter Frye, Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts prior to the Revolution, who died at Camberwell, England, Jan. 31, 1820 (the day he completed his 98th year), at the house of Admiral Sir John Knight, his son-in-law. Her first husband was the Hon. Peter Oliver, LL.D., Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts prior to the Revolution, who died in England, Oct. 13th, 1791. Her second husband was Sir John Knight. The lines, copied from Lady Knight's album, were received from Mrs. J. W. Fabens, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, a great granddaughter of Judge Frye—whose portrait hangs on her parlor wall. As a historical relic, hitherto unprinted, we offer it to the Magazine. W. H.]

"To a swain all unskilled in poetical lays,
His aid, O ye Muses, supply!
Assist my first efforts to sing in the praise
Of the sprightly, accomplished Miss Frye.

The snow-drop in Spring, and the rosebud
in June,

In her face may each other outvie,
Where sweetness and modesty, blushing
assume

The Graces' fond looks in Miss Frye.

With beauty and merit possessed,
The delight of each ear and each eye,
How happy the man that is born to be blest
With the sensible, lovely Miss Frye.

Then hear me, ye Powers, that o'er virtue
preside;

Guard her mind from each sorrow and
sigh,

Make choice of a man who shall make her
his bride,

And dispense every bliss to Miss Frye."

THE MURPHY SALE OF AMERICANA— There is no higher proof of the progress of culture and taste in this country than the results of the important sale of the unique and valuable collection of Hon. Henry C. Murphy, LL.D., of Brooklyn, New York, which terminated on Saturday, March 8, 1884. About 5,000 volumes were sold, and the amount of money realized was \$52,000. The formation of this library had been the labor of a long and active life, and its bibliomaniac treasures were among the rarest ever offered for sale in the United States, or even in Europe. Mr. Murphy was born in Brooklyn, July 5, 1810, and died in that city December 1, 1882. He was graduated from Columbia College, New York, at the age of twenty, and after three years close application to the study of law, was admitted to the bar in 1833. At the age of thirty-two he was elected Mayor of Brooklyn, and in 1843 became a member of Congress. In 1857 he was appointed Minister to Holland, and after his return in 1861, was a State Senator for twelve consecutive years. It was under his auspices, as President of the East River Bridge Company, that the great structure between New York and Brooklyn was achieved. He was, in short, a prominent figure of his time, and was recognized as a *scholar* in politics. His writings on historical and other subjects, and his valuable translations, are well known to the public. He was the founder and proprietor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, and the *King's County Democrat*, a trustee and one of the organizers of the "Brooklyn City Library," and one of the initial founders of the "Long Island Historical Society." Of his remarkable library it would be in-

teresting to speak in detail, if space permitted. It was exceptionally rich in volumes relating to geography, ancient and modern, also in what related to early American history, to local American history, and to later American history. The largest buyers at the sale are said to have been Hon. John Russell Bartlett, of Providence, Mr. Joseph Sabin, and Brentano, of New York.

A SCRAP OF UNWRITTEN HISTORY— William Muckleston, M.D., of the old English gentry, born in Oswestry, County of Salop, removed in early manhood to the State of Connecticut, leaving behind him his father and an elder brother, who was, by English laws, heir to the whole property. He made his home in Middletown, Conn., and there married and became the father of two daughters, Mary and Lucy. While Lucy was yet an infant, Dr. Muckleston received news from home of the death of both his father and elder brother; which left him sole heir to the great English estate. Making temporary arrangements for his family, he sailed alone for England with a view to the settlement of affairs, and perished at sea, never reaching his destination. This event, owing to difficult communication in that early day, remained for a long time unknown, and no effort was ever made to obtain possession of the inheritance, which indisputably belonged to the American descendants of Dr. Muckleston. Mary, the elder daughter, married Elisha Burge of Connecticut, then, and by some of his descendants now, erroneously spelled *Birge*, and was the mother of the late James and Joseph Burge of Litchfield, Connecticut, and also of Tryphena Burge

who married Elizur Griswold (died in Litchfield, 1787). James Burge was the father of the late Rev. Lemuel Burge of Brooklyn, New York. Tryphena was the mother of the late Chester Griswold, long of Utica, New York (died in Baltimore, 1867), whose surviving sons are Maj. Elias Griswold, of Hancock, Hay & Griswold, attorneys-at-law in Washington, D. C., and the Rev. Benjamin Burge Griswold, D.D., Chapel of the Holy Cross, Baltimore. Chester Griswold's daughter, Mary Tryphena, became the first wife of Gen. H. Wessells, U.S.A., of Connecticut, and another son was the late Rev. Whiting Griswold, founder of St. John's Church and of the Orphans' Home in St. Louis, Mo., whose son, Mr. Benj. H. Griswold, of Baltimore, is prominently connected with the Western Maryland Railway.

Lucy, second daughter of Dr. William Muckleston, married David Beach of Connecticut. Among her descendants was the late Jesse Beach, a revolutionary officer and father of Mrs. William Humphreys, formerly of Humphreysville and Derby, Connecticut.

The Muckleston family trace their ancestry to Hocskin Muckleston, born in 1345, who married Gertrude, daughter of Hugh Kynaston. The estate of Merrington came to the Mucklestons by the marriage of Edward Muckleston with Mary, daughter and heir of Thomas Colefaxe, of Merrington. The curious in such matters will find to-day the following entries among the parish records of Oswestry:

John Muckleston, of Oswestry, Gentleman, buried April 6, 1682. Aged 64 years.

John Muckleston, eldest son of above,

born 1652. Buried July 16, 1702, aged 50 years. [This one died without issue.]

William Muckleston. Born April 5, 1663. There is no record of his marriage or death.—B. B. G.

WAYNE'S INDIAN NAME—Weld, the traveler, noted in his journal in October, 1796, that the Indians at Detroit, disappointed at not receiving from Gen. Anthony Wayne the oft-promised presents from the United States, called him *General Wabang*, that is, General To-Morrow.—PETERSFIELD

MRS. FLETCHER'S TOMB—The readers of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* may feel an interest in the following inscription. It may be found upon a slab on one of the pillars which support the south gallery in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, London. The curate directed the attention of one of our party to it as being probably the oldest memorial stone in this old church of Sir Christopher Wren's.

BANYER CLARKSON

Mar. 11, 1884

"Beneath this Pillar lies the body of Elizabeth, wife of Colonell Benjamin Fletcher late Captain Generall & Governour in Chiefe of his Majesties Province of New Yorke in America and Daughter to Doctor John Hodson L^d Bishop of Elphin in Ireland who after her Return from that long voyage in which she accompanied her Husband, Departed this life the Fifth day of November, A^{no} Dⁿⁱ 1698 leaving one Son and two Daughters behind her and a sweet & lasting Monument in the memorie of all that knew her."

QUERIES

WEBSTER CHOWDER—As the Lenten season opens I notice frequent references to "*Webster Chowder*." During the summer the local columns of our newspapers abound with notices of pleasure parties served with "*Webster Chowder*." Will not some of your readers inform us when or where Daniel Webster manufactured chowder? Is not the name applied to this savory compound a trick of the restaurateur? In my opinion there would be as much reason in identifying the father of our country with that delectable luxury "*Washington Pie*." To a foreigner it looks very much as if the great Daniel made chowder for a reputation and expounded the Constitution between times.

MINTO

BOURDIEU [ix. 288.]—Who was the Mr. Bourdieu mentioned in Franklin's letter to Laurens, as bearer of a dispatch?

Was he the Peregrine Bordieu, *m.* June 21, 1785, to Maria Sears, by Rev. Samuel Provoost, at Trinity Church, New York: and was Maria daughter to *King* Isaac Sears?

S. P. MAY

NEWTON, Mass.

FIRST PIECE OF ARTILLERY—(1) Will some one kindly inform me when the first piece of artillery was cast in America, or more exactly, within the colonies which became the United States? Does any history of ordnance (whether of bronze or iron) in America exist in an accessible form? (2) After which Van Curler is the apartment house in New York City of that name called?

DORP

SCHENECTADY, March 5, 1884

FLAGS OF THE REVOLUTION [xi. 260]—What is the date of Franklin and Adams's reply to the ambassador of Naples, giving a description of the flag, as quoted by "Minto"? The American Commissioners, under date of Nov. 7, 1778, communicated to Congress the ambassador's request, and desired instructions as to the colors of the flag and form of the sea papers. The letter was read Feb. 24, 1779, and referred to the Marine Committee for answer. I. J. G.

THE WASHINGTON ODE—In my early school-boy days—it was not so very long after the death of Washington—there was an ode printed in the form of a small handbill, that the boys used to "speak on the stage." I can recall only the first stanza:

"OUR HERO'S DEAD! a doleful sound!
How large the stroke—how deep the wound;
The man who did his country save,
Lies cold and silent in the grave!"

What are the other stanzas? I think there were three or more in all—and where may the ode be found? H. K.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14, 1883

THE LEADEN PLATE—The leaden plate deposited by Oloron at "The Indian God Rock," nine miles below Franklin, Pa., Aug. 3, 1749 (see *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 141) was found by a boatman named Andrew Shall in 1832. He resided about ten miles northeast of Kittanning, Pa., but is now long dead. I desire further particulars of the discovery of the plate, and what became of it? Can any of your readers throw light on the subject?

A. A. LAMBING

PITTSBURG, PA.

REPLIES

COLONEL JACKSON [xi. 263.]—Henry Jackson commanded the famous "Boston Regiment" that entered Philadelphia the day after the British evacuated that city. He also served on the court martial that tried Arnold in 1779, taking the place of Col. Hazen, as a member of the board.

The brave Col. Michael Jackson, of Newton, Mass., was shot at the attack on Randall's Island, N. Y., in Sept., 1776. In Jan., 1777, he was commissioned colonel of the 8th Continental Regiment, but on account of disability from his wound, the regiment was led by Lieut.-Col. John Brooks.

MINTO

VALENTINE ON WEAVING [xi. 263.]—A careful examination of the catalogues of libraries in the United States has failed to bring to light a copy of Valentine's book. If printed, it was probably the first publication in this country relating to the important industry of weaving. I have transcribed a copy of the author's prospectus, issued at New York, in December, 1771. The garret of some farmhouse on Long Island may contain the volume sought for by your correspondent, Oyster Bay.

PETERSFIELD

PROPOSALS

For Printing by Subscription

A Treatise on Weaving.

Consisting of near 300 different Draughts, with full and plain Directions of the Preparations of the Yarn, Warping, and Weaving of Barrogon, Tammy, Durant, Paragon, Duroys, Sergedenim, Grograne, Crossbarr'd, and figured Stuffs, Stanets, Kersey, Shalloon, Twill, Sagathies, Bed-ticks, plain, rib'd, and flower'd Ever-

lastings, Fustian, Dimity, and Dimity-Fustians, Diamond and Bird Eye, German Serge, Calimancoe, Barcelona, Prunella, Huckaback of many sorts and figures, of the newest mode, Pannel, Clouting, Shagreen and Compass Work, Diaper of many sorts and figures, Scotch Carpeting, and sundry other sorts of work not here mentioned.—With particular Rules for the drawing of draughts.

All explained and laid down in the most plain and easy Manner, that a person of the smallest capacity may understand it; there being very particular draughts, with full directions of the hanging, and likewise the treading or weaving thereof. By DAVID VALENTINE, of Suffolk County, Long-Island.

CONDITIONS

I. This Work will be comprised in a Quarto Volume and it is computed to make about 200 Pages; shall be printed on good Paper, and new Type.

II. The Price to each Subscriber will be Three Dollars, One Dollar to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the remainder upon their receiving the books.

Subscriptions are taken in by Mr. James Valentine, of Dutches County, Mr. James Fullton, of Ulster County, Mr. James Varian, of West-Chester County, Mr. George Dibble, of Stamford, in Connecticut, Abraham Andres, Esq. of Fairfield, in Connecticut, Mr. John Burris, of Elizabeth-Town, New Jersey, Mr. Thomas Sands, of Suffolk County, Long-Island, by the Author in Queen's County, and by Samuel Inslee and Anthony Carr, at New York, the Printers hereof.

N. B. The Public may be assured no more Books will be printed than are subscribed for.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the meeting of the society, March 4, 1884, Edwin M. Wight, Augustus Van Cortlandt and William Watson were elected resident members. The Recording Secretary, Mr. Warner, read an interesting autograph letter, recently added to the archives of the society, from John Quincy Adams, in reference to the address delivered by him before the society at its celebration (April 30, 1839) of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington, April 30, 1789. Resolutions were adopted on the recent decease of John William Wallace, LL.D., President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and for many years an honored associate of this society. Resolutions were also adopted in honor of the late Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, which, reported by Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, for the Executive Committee, were as follows:

Resolved, That the New York Historical Society places upon its records this expression of the great regret with which it has learned of the decease of one of its most honored corresponding members, the venerable Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, of Quincy, Massachusetts.

Born in 1798, a daughter of an ancient and honored line, distinguished through two centuries and a half for birth, intellect, position, and influence; dwelling in her ancestral home of Mount Wollaston, which she had long graced with a warm hospitality that none who have enjoyed it can ever forget—she has passed from earth in the fullness of years, after

a life adorned with all that is revered in woman.

Inheriting a superior mind, and fulfilling to the utmost the duties of a daughter, a sister, and a friend, in her were united good sense, sound judgment, high intelligence, and a manner that made her society as sought for as it was delightful, and added to the charm with which she was ever ready to impart to others the great information of which she was possessed.

A granddaughter of that John Morton, of New York, who, from his early aid to the American cause, was styled by the British "The Rebel Banker," she ever honored the native home of her mother, whose vivid memoir of her own girlhood's days in New York, from the close of the Revolution to the end of the century, and of her early married life in Boston to 1821—continued, by the gifted daughter's graphic pen, to her death in 1850, and privately printed by the daughter, in 1861—will ever remain one of the most valuable, as it is one of the most perfect, delineations of the scenes and the society of the two cities during the period, and of the brilliant social life and surroundings of the great men of America among whom both mother and daughter moved and with whom they were connected. It added another leaf to the laurels which grace the name of Quincy, and cast a bright light upon the early history of the United States. Confided to the keeping of this society by the venerable lady herself, the copy in this Library will ever be regarded as among its valued treasures.

Resolved, That a copy of this minute, duly attested, be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

The paper of the evening, on "James Duane, of the Continental Congress," was read by J. Bleeker Miller, Esq., a descendant of the distinguished son of New York, whose life and public services were the subject of his interesting sketch. In the course of it, Mr. Miller read several original letters of Duane, which exhibited his characteristic ability, patriotism and probity, and the zeal with which he sought for the establishment and progress of the Republic and the substantial welfare of his native State.

The following resolutions were reported by the Executive Committee and adopted by the society :

Resolved, That the New York Historical Society will celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States on the 30th day of April, 1789.

Resolved, That it be referred to the Executive Committee to take such action as may be necessary and expedient, and in due time report a plan, to carry out the purpose of the society in a manner suitable to the occasion—the commemoration of the most important event in the history of the City, the State, and the Nation.

Dr. George H. Moore, in reporting these resolutions on behalf of the Executive Committee, remarked :

"The historical genius and ability of all America cannot be better employed during the coming five years than in developing the real history of the formation of the Federal Constitution, under which the government of the United

States was established. It is a history which remains to be written. Each and every one of the original States should be called upon to provide from all sources at command, in its own archives or elsewhere, a thorough and exhaustive account of its own part in the work, including careful and discriminating biographies of its delegates to the Federal Convention, and the principal actors in its subsequent State Convention. The neglected bibliography of the Federal Convention should be written up. There is a copious literature of no small value hidden away in neglected pamphlets and newspapers, embracing not only the actual proceedings of the several conventions but the discussions to which their work gave rise, exhibiting every phase of the political wisdom or folly of the day and all the phenomena of heated political strife. Among the permanent and most valuable results of this celebration, I shall be greatly disappointed if we fail to secure a thorough catalogue *raisonné* of all these materials, now neglected and unknown to any but a very few scholars and students, who have invaded the dusty realm in which they rest in pursuit of some special name or fact. The very existence of the journals of some of the State Conventions has apparently been unknown to the historians of the Constitution, and they have fallen into errors which have marred their work from that very fact.

"Unhappily, the historic building, which ought to have been preserved *in perpetuum rei memoriam*, itself the most suggestive monument of the event which took place within its old walls, already laden with the memories of a century of occupation and use for public purposes,

was heedlessly swept away within a few years after it had been decorated by its greatest honor. I have no words to express my sense of the indifference with which the people of New York permitted it to be destroyed. It would seem that such an act would have been impossible in a community which knew or cared for its own or any history, yet it was the same generation in which the Historical Society was established and the representatives of the ancient settlers of New Amsterdam were roused to fierce resentment by Mr. Irving's pleasant chronicles of the Dutch period."

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held at Trenton on January 17. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, The Rev. Samuel M. Hamill, D.D.; Vice-Presidents, John T. Nixon, U. S. District Judge, John Clement, of the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals, Samuel H. Pennington, M.D.; Corresponding Secretary, William A. Whitehead, of Newark; Recording Secretary, William Nelson, of Paterson; Treasurer and Librarian, Frederick W. Ricord, of Newark. A valuable contribution to the history of the Revolution was read by Adjutant-General W. S. Stryker, of New Jersey, who described the part taken by the New Jersey troops in the expedition against the Six Nations. The paper was accompanied by a complete roster of the Jerseymen in that important expedition, which General Stryker has spared no pains to make perfect. The late Judge Lucius Q. C. Elmer, who for sixty years occupied a conspicuous position in New Jersey affairs, as member of the Legis-

lature, member of Congress at various times, and Judge of the Supreme Court, and who for many years was a leading officer of the society, was the subject of an interesting address by Colonel William E. Potter, who was followed by Judge Nixon in some timely remarks on the same theme. It was resolved to request Congress to provide for the publication of the Peter Force Collection of Papers covering the history of the country from 1777 to 1783, inclusive. It is understood that Secretary Frelinghuysen favors such action, and it is thought the Committee on Appropriations will act favorably in the matter. The next meeting of the society will be held at Newark on the third Thursday in May.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a meeting held on the 16th of February at the rooms of the society in the Westmorland Club-house, a number of valuable gifts of books were reported, letters were read from various sources, and several honorary and corresponding members were elected. William W. Corcoran, of Washington, D. C., was elected first Vice-President, *vice* Conway Robinson, deceased, and Honorables William Wirt Henry and J. L. M. Curry, second and third Vice-Presidents.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY—The 26th Annual Meeting of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was held at its rooms, Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, January 11, 1884. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Hon. E. L. Dana, President; Dr. C. F. Ingham, Rev. H. L. Jones, Capt. Calvin Parsons, Hon. E. B. Cox, Vice-Presidents;

Harrison Wright, Ph.D., Secretary; Sheldon Reynolds, Cor. Sec.; A. F. Derr, Treasurer; A. H. McClintock, Librarian. A paper was read by H. C. Davis, A.M., on "The Importance of Greek in Scientific Nomenclature." This was followed by a translation by Harrison Wright, Ph.D., of the Report to the Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts from M. Leopold Lelisle on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Ashburnham, which it is claimed were largely stolen from the French government and are to be offered for sale in this country. The report of the Cabinet Committee showed an addition to the Library, 900 volumes; to the Cabinet, 300 specimens; to the Numismatic Dep., 200 coins and medals.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

An interesting and scholarly paper on "The Destruction of Ancient Works of Art" was read before the Rhode Island Historical Society on the evening of March 4, by William S. Liscomb, A.M. The essay described graphically and minutely the work of devastation which was wrought in the earlier ages of the Christian Era, in the art centers of Italy, Greece and Turkey, particularly in the chief cities, Rome, Athens and Constantinople, by iconoclastic Christians, by conquering barbarians, by conflagration and by earthquake. At the close of the reading Dr. Charles W. Parsons moved a vote of thanks of the society, and took occasion to speak in highly commendatory language of Mr. Liscomb's effort, saying that such an erudite and finished essay had required deep scholarship and great research; and also spoke briefly and comparatively of the art of the age of

Angelo, and of the age of the ancients in Greece and Rome. The motion moving thanks was seconded by ex-Governor Dyer and unanimously carried.

THE NEWBURGH BAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its first public meeting on the evening of February 22, in Calvary Church. The exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. Jeremiah Searle, after which Major E. C. Boynton, President of the Society, delivered a brief but eloquent address. Hon. James G. Graham followed with a few pertinent remarks, and introduced Hon. Erastus Brooks, the orator of the evening. Mr. Brooks reviewed ably and forcibly the chief events of the Revolutionary War, dwelling upon the heroic achievements of the people of the Hudson in particular. "What we are most reminded of, to-day," he said, "is the fact that the Hudson was the most exposed, and with one exception, the best guarded highway of the whole war."

THE ROCKLAND HISTORICAL AND FORESTRY SOCIETY, held its annual meeting at Nyack, on the evening of February 22. The president, Mr. Quentin McAdam, called the meeting to order, and the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, E. M. Taft; Vice-Presidents, Wm. S. Govan, M.D., of Haverstraw, Wm. H. Whiton, of Piermont, Garret Van Nostrand, of South Nyack, George Van Houten, of Orangeville, Rev. A. S. Freeman, D.D., of Haverstraw; Recording Secretary, George F. Morse, of Nyack; Corresponding Secretary, Merritt E. Sawyer, of Nyack; Treasurer, Charles H. Wesels, of Nyack. After the business meeting, Rev. A. S. Freeman, D.D., delivered an interesting address.

BOOK NOTICES

THE 'HESSIANS AND THE OTHER GERMAN AUXILIARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. By EDWARD J. LOWELL. With maps and plans. 12mo, pp. 328. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1884.

This work is an interesting and important contribution to the history of the American Revolution. We have heard much of the French soldiers and seamen who aided our honored patriots in their struggle for independence; but it should be remembered as well, that a force of between fifteen and twenty thousand German auxiliaries served against us for seven years, adding materially to the disadvantages and difficulties with which our forefathers contended. Upwards of 29,000 Germans (or Hessians) were brought to this country by the British, more than 12,000 of whom never returned to their native land. Mr. Lowell shows what sort of people these auxiliaries were, and the impression made upon them by America and the Americans. He has no sympathy for the German despots who sold their subjects into a foreign land to fight in a quarrel in which their own country had no part or interest whatever. But having studied with pains-taking care the original German records and accounts of every engagement of the Revolutionary war in which the Hessians took part, he is able to throw new light upon many points, and to add some fresh material to our storehouse of knowledge relating to these events. The book will be highly valued by students; and the subject is presented in a style so clear, forcible and flowing as to be peculiarly engaging to the general reader. One of the most graphic chapters in the volume concerns the passage of the purchased troops from Germany to America. The German writers are themselves no apologists for the treatment of their unhappy countrymen by avaricious potentates. Mr. Lowell says: "But the infamy of the man-selling princes is perpetuated in Germany more by the words of the best-beloved of her poets than by those of the two greatest generals of the last century. In his tragedy of 'Caleb and Liebe,' written during the progress of the American war, Schiller has left an eloquent protest against the vile traffic. 'But none were forced to go?' says Lady Milford to the old chamberlain, who is telling her how his two sons, with 7,000 of their countrymen have been sent off to America. 'Oh, God! no,' he answers—'all volunteers. It is true, a few saucy fellows stepped out of the ranks and asked the colonels how much a yoke the prince sold men; but our most gracious master ordered all the regiments to march on the parade ground,

and had the jackanapes shot down. We heard the crack of the rifles, saw their brains spatter to the pavement, and the whole army shouted, 'Hurrah! to America!'"

NEWFOUNDLAND. ITS HISTORY, ITS PRESENT CONDITION, AND ITS PROSPECTS IN THE FUTURE. By JOSEPH HATTON, and the Rev. M. HARVEY. Reprinted from the English edition; revised, corrected and enlarged. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 431. Boston: Doyle & Whittle. 1883.

We cordially welcome this American edition of a new history of England's oldest colony. Discovered three hundred years ago, Newfoundland has only in these latter days been explored. Seventy years since it was unlawful to build a house on the island without government permission. Until a recent date the cultivation of the soil even was not in order. Half a century ago there were no regularly constructed roads in the country, and hardly a dwelling worthy of the name. The result of scientific investigation has finally demonstrated that the land is not only fertile, but rich in useful minerals; and Newfoundland has now entered upon a course of self-development that promises a bountiful harvest in the future. Its history is thus rendered all the more interesting; and it is told in this volume, by a resident of the island for a quarter of a century, a clerical gentleman of studious tastes and wide information—well known to the learned societies of Europe, and through his writings to the general world of letters—aided by the accomplished London author, Mr. Hatton, whose editorial skill is discernable on every page. The work treats not only of history, but of the fisheries, the agricultural and mineral resources of the island, and also of its topography, physical geography, and other features of general moment. The first step toward the construction of a railway in Newfoundland was taken in 1875, when a preliminary survey of a line from St. John's to St. George's Bay was made under the direction of Mr. Sandford Fleming, then engineer-in-chief of Canadian railways. The first sod of the first railway was turned on the 9th of August, 1881, and in September, 1882, thirty-five miles were completed and in running order. In July, 1883, forty-five miles were completed. It was not until 1843 that the Legislature of Newfoundland took any action concerning education in the colony. The volume before us contains much valuable statistical information in relation to schools, churches, postal communications, banks, newspapers, etc., etc., and presents some thirty illustrations.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, from the Discovery of the Continent. By GEORGE BANCROFT. The author's last Revision. Vol. IV. 8vo., pp. 452. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1884.

Mr. Bancroft's fourth volume covers the exciting period from May, 1774, to July, 1776. "America takes up arms for self-defence and arrives at independence." In his opening paragraph he says: "The people of the continent obeyed one general impulse, as the earth in spring listens to the command of Nature and without the appearance of effort bursts into life. The movement was quickened, even when it was most resisted; and its fiercest adversaries worked with the most effect for its fulfillment." In this fine passage we strike the key-note of the volume. The situation of Boston is described with characteristic eloquence. The slow torture was applied. Presently the busy workshops were changed into scenes of compulsory idleness. Want scowled on the inhabitants. The boats that plied between Boston and Charlestown could not ferry a parcel of goods across Charles River. And all these coercive measures were regarded by their authors as masterpieces of statesmanship. But they accomplished just the opposite results from those intended. The whole continent sympathized with and made the cause of Boston its own. The British ministry failed even to allure, intimidate, or divide New York, which was supposed to be more loyal to the crown than the other colonies. And to the amazement of Britain—"the mighty mother who bred men capable of laying the foundation of so noble an empire"—a general congress of the colonies was called at Philadelphia.

The new generation of readers will hardly take up this revised edition of Mr. Bancroft's history for the purpose of criticism, or of comparing it line by line and chapter by chapter with the product of his pen many years ago. But the benefit of his artistic touches—his pruning and softening and condensing, while carefully preserving all the substantial features of his earlier work—will be none the less admired and appreciated as the years roll on. The beauty and symmetry of his plan, and the breadth of his research, is perhaps more forcibly illustrated in the present volume than in either of its predecessors. Treating of only two momentous years, the author is obliged to travel over a vast extent of territory, and gather the innumerable threads of his subject from widely separated sources into a firm, vigorous grasp. The reader is carried along the smooth current, from one colony to another, looks into the assemblies and congresses on this continent, and into the king's cabinet and Parliament on the other, and becomes acquainted with the leaders of opinion and of revolution. Of the Declaration of Independence, with which the volume closes, Mr.

Bancroft says: "This immortal state paper was 'the genuine effusion of the soul of the country at that time,' the revelation of its mind, when, in its youth, its enthusiasm, its sublime confronting of danger, it rose to the highest creative powers of which man is capable. The bill of rights which it promulgates is of rights that are older than human institutions, and spring from eternal justice. Two politic theories divided the world; one founded the commonwealth on the advantage of the state, the policy of Expediency, the other on the immutable principles of morals; the new republic, as it took its place among the powers of the world, proclaimed its faith in the truth and reality and unchangeableness of freedom, virtue and right. And the astonished nations, as they read that all men are created equal, started out of their lethargy, like those who have been exiles from childhood, when they suddenly hear the dimly-remembered accents of their mother tongue."

MY HOUSE: An Ideal. By OLIVER B. BUNCE. 16mo, pp. 108. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1884.

This unique little volume tells its own story. It is a picture, and one so pleasing that it cannot fail to be well studied. The author says: "My house is not a congregation of strange forms and devices, nor a medley of things known and unknown. It does not pierce the sky with pinnacles, nor confront one with towers and turrets that are suspiciously only toy towers and make-believe turrets. Its roof is not mounted with a would-be cupola that holds nothing but its own weight, that is accessible to nothing but the fowls of the air, and resembles nothing but an exaggerated bird-cage. It does not stand overweighed by a Mansard roof, nor is it encompassed by a piazza distorted with feeble ornamentation or variegated in badly composed pigments. It is not a costly house, nor is it yet a mean house. It is not a mansion, but it is something more than a cottage. It is not an architect's house, because if it were it would have been built after the latest ruling fashion; nor is it a builder's house, as in that case it would include all the regulation pretensions and infelicities of the time.

"My house was meant to delight the instructed taste as well as to charm the heart; therefore, it was not built solely as a screen from the weather, nor with all the practical purposes of a house solely in view. It serves all the needs of a house, inasmuch as it secures the physical comfort of its inmates; but that at the best is only an elementary idea of a house. My house is a home; it is a retreat; it is a place that charms; it is a spot that endears; it is a haven wherein the best that is within us may blossom."

The reader is cordially invited into this ideal house, and we predict more than one agreeable

and instructive lesson will be the result of the visit. The author's theme is art and not trickery; his purpose is to show how to bring about good results by right methods. The book can be read with profit, and we heartily commend it to every household in the country.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF IOWA. A

Record of the Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement of Iowa, held at Burlington, June 1, 1883. 12mo, pamphlet, pp. 104. Burlington: Hawkeye Book and Job Printing House, 1883.

Fifty years ago Iowa contained only scattered Indian villages, and here and there a trading post. It had no roads save Indian trails across the prairies. "In the fall of 1833," said Dr. Wm. R. Ross—first postmaster and first surveyor in the State—"I had two cabins built on my claim west of this Park (in Burlington) which were occupied by my family in March, 1834; also a cabin for a school-house, and for preaching, occupied by Mr. Philips, whom I hired to make rails and fence the ground for pasture and garden." During the same autumn the town was surveyed, and in January, 1834, the citizens met and named it Burlington. The first minister was Rev. Baron G. Cartwright, who had an ox team "to plow and break prairie through the week," and was to preach on Sunday.

The first permanent settlement in Iowa was in the summer of 1833, following the ratification of the treaty with the Indians. The first day of June, 1833, was the date fixed for the quiet departure of the savages from the territory. In 1836 the town of Burlington was made the seat of government for the whole region now embraced in the three States of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and the Territory of Dakota. In 1838, Congress divided Wisconsin from Iowa, "and the 'Hawkeyes' said to the 'Badgers,' you may go and not stand upon the order in which you retire. Our hearts' best wishes will ever attend Grandma Michigan and Mother Wisconsin, but look out or your daughter will 'eclipse her progenitors.'" An up-river steamer arriving the same day (June 12), the Governor and the Wisconsin officials of the Legislature took passage for their Northern homes. Since then Iowa has grown with such rapidity that at the recent census it was found that her population had reached upward of one and one-half millions. And the value of property in the State is estimated at about \$1,200,000,000.

This pamphlet is a collection of speeches made on the occasion of Iowa's fiftieth anniversary, and embraces no small amount of historical and statistical information in reference to the State.

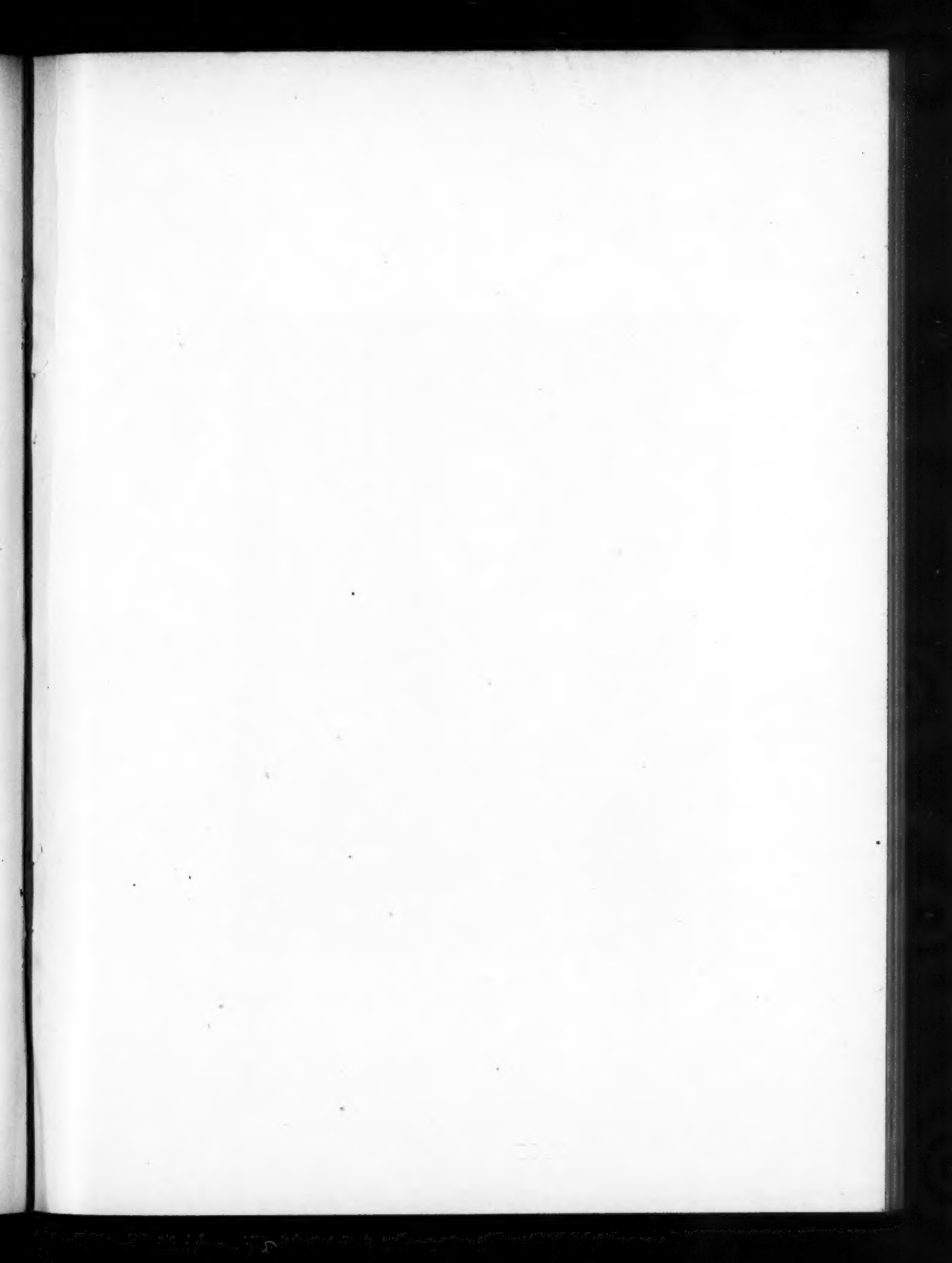
DOROTHEA SCOTT, OTHERWISE GOTHERSON AND HOGLEEN, OF EGERTON HOUSE, KENT, 1611-1680, A new and enlarged edition. By G. D. SCULL, 12mo (square), pp. 216. Printed for private circulation, by Parker & Co., Oxford, England, 1883.

Dorothea Scott, born in 1611, was the daughter of Thomas Scott, of Egerton, in Kent, and the great grand-daughter of Sir Reginald, the head of the ancient family of the Scotts, of Scot's hall. Her grandmother was the daughter of Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Arlington Castle, Kent, son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet and minister of Henry VIII. The manor of Egerton became in due course of events the property of Dorothea Scott, and her estate at that time was valued at £500 per annum. About the year 1680 she with her family removed to Long Island, where she resided until her death, and her descendants are now scattered through this country. The volume contains many of the incidents of her troubled life, and a reprint of a little book she wrote, entitled "A Call to Repentance," addressed to Charles II., in 1661; also a brief notice of a religious appeal written by her husband, Daniel Gotherson, and printed in 1660, containing some curious particulars connected with a public dispute in 1659, between a clergyman of Sandwich and three members of the Society of Friends. A considerable portion of the work is devoted to genealogical and family matters, and a valuable pedigree follows the appendix.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES IN RHYME. By ROBERT C. ADAMS. 12mo, pp. 72. Boston, 1884. D. Lothrop & Co.

This is a companion volume to Mr. Adams' clever little History of England in Rhyme, published a year or two since. The author claims for it no special literary merit, but has aimed to impress dates, names, and events upon the minds of young readers by the aid of agreeable rhymes. We are sorry to see some notable errors which should not be perpetuated among the children; but the principle of condensation in such rhyming is good. The best part of the work is the summary of Colonies and States, which closes the book.

THE BAY STATE MONTHLY. Nos. I., II., III. A new Massachusetts Magazine. Each number contains sixty-four pages of excellent reading matter, a steel engraving and other illustrations. It promises to develop the romance in Massachusetts Colonial and State history; and also to illustrate descriptions of manufacturing towns, their rise, growth, and present status with many other valuable features.





WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

(1689—1702.)

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No. 5

THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A GROUP OF VIRGINIA STATESMEN

THE Virginia Convention, which assembled at Williamsburg in May, 1776, committed the whole country to revolution. If a "properly limited" monarchy is the best form of government and was still attainable, the statesmen of the time blundered. If a properly limited republic, which they had in view, is the best, they were the soundest political thinkers of history. Their action precipitated the issue. A small body of farmers in a provincial town not only declared war against an empire, but brought on the definite conflict between the monarchic and republican ideas, which is the great political feature of the modern world.

The phrase "properly limited" was used by Jefferson in a letter to John Randolph in August, 1775. "I would rather be in dependence on Great Britain properly limited," he said, "than upon any other nation upon earth, or than on no nation." Thus the statesman of more advanced views, perhaps, than any of his contemporaries, thought on the very threshold of the revolution, that a limited monarchy was to be preferred to a republic. Within less than a year he and nearly all other Americans had made up their minds that a republic was best; and the result was a new departure of the human race. The revolution followed, and if it had failed the whole current of modern history would have set in another direction. It was an open trial of strength between the Old World and the New. When the representatives of the people of Virginia asserted that "All power is vested in and consequently derived from the people," and, after directing their delegates in Congress to propose a general declaration of independence, proceeded to declare Virginia an independent Commonwealth, and adopt a republican constitution, the two conflicting principles of government had come to deadly issue, and nothing but the appeal to arms could decide it.